THE MISSIONARY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

GORDON HEDDERLY SMITH

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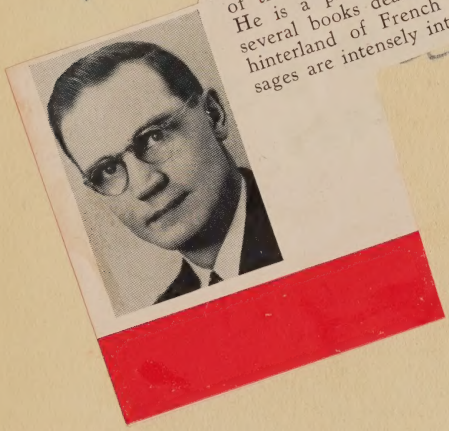
To Mrs. Greenleaf,
Staunch friend of our
Savages, with all good
wishes.

Gordon H. Smith

August 6/45.



● REV. G. H. SMITH represents the needs of the tribes people of French Indo-China. He is a pioneer Missionary and author of several books dealing with the tribes in the hinterland of French Indo-China. His messages are intensely interesting.

The Missionary and Anthropology. By Gordon Hedderly Smith. The Moody Press, Chicago. U.S.A., $1.50; in Canada, $2.00.

The purpose of this book, as the title suggests, is to first show the importance of the study of Anthropology for Missionaries and, secondly, to make an approach to the science of man and his culture from the standpoint of the missionary who labours among so-called primitive people.

There are eleven chapters making up 154 pages of most interesting and informing material.

While the title of this book may be somewhat pretentious, yet reduced to its simplest terms it simply means how can the Missionary obtain a better understanding of the native, how may he make the best approach, how may he most understandingly and effectively present the Gospel to those among whom he has come to show the way of life?

The chapters deal with the subject of Anthropology and the reason and the advantages of this study.

Much help is given in regard to the study of the language and the religion, character and morals of the natives.

Much valuable time is saved and many serious mistakes are avoided by a knowledge of the facts so ably presented in this volume.

Such a book should be read by every candidate for the Foreign Mission work. It would be most profitable to have it as a text book in every Bible School.

The accumulation of such valuable material is placing at the disposal of the Missionary that which has been the fruit of diligent research over many years.

The book is well written and that by one who has had ample experience.—E.R.H.

THE MISSIONARY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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THE MISSIONARY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

An introduction to the study of primitive man for missionaries

by

GORDON HEDDERLY SMITH, B. D.

Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; Author of *The Blood Hunters;* Missionary of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, French Indo-China.

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is two-fold—first, to show the importance of the study of anthropology for missionaries; secondly, to make an approach to the science of man and his culture from the standpoint of the missionary who works especially among so-called primitive people.

This is not intended to be a text-book on anthropology. It is simply a humble attempt to stimulate interest in the study and pave the way, perhaps, for further works which may appear shortly.

I believe that every missionary should take a course, if possible, in anthropology. If this is not possible, then a number of books dealing especially with cultural anthropology should be studied. After many years experience working among the natives of French Indo-China, I have felt the need of such studies, and I would like to see Bible schools include in their curriculum a course in cultural anthropology, at least.

We learn about man theologically in Bible school and Seminary—his sinful condition and need of a Saviour. We learn about his general religious systems of belief in the study of the primitive and comparative religions. As missionaries, are we properly fitted to understand the languages, the religious beliefs, the social organizations, etc., of the people among whom we work? To be able to classify and record those of the many manifestations of human effort and ingenuity

that will help us in our work, is to be a more proficient soul-winner.

"Where shall I begin? What branches shall I study?" Unless one has had previous training in the science, its vast scope will probably be bewildering. For those who expect to become specialists in the study, a college course is necessary. A higher degree of technical knowledge will be required for the study of physical anthropology, which consists of the comparative racial study of human anatomy, physiology and psychology, racial susceptibility and immunity.

The pioneer missionary unable to take the necessary courses may find much help, I believe, in a study of language, primitive religion, social organization of lower races, and their morality as set forth in some of the general books listed in the bibliography.

I have quoted at length in this work some of the earlier anthropologists such as Broca, Tylor, Lubbock and Réclus, because of the great help they have been to me. I realize, however, that many of their theories and views are now out of date. Their tremendous contribution to the science cannot be lightly dismissed, even though we may not agree with all they propounded.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Alexander Grigolia, Ph.D., of Wheaton College, for his kindness in reading the manuscript and offering some suggestions. A pioneer in the field of anthropology from the Christian standpoint, Dr. Grigolia has longed for the day when missionaries would be able to study the science in many colleges and Bible schools to better fit them for service on the field. He has in mind publishing a number of text books on the subject, and these we shall await with great eagerness.

In its place, anthropology can become a sharp tool, cutting through superstition and ignorance, and rending the veils that hide poor lost humanity from our all too clumsy efforts to reach them with the gospel.

GORDON HEDDERLY SMITH

Chicago, Illinois

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FOREWORD

I HAD the pleasure of meeting Rev. Gordon Hedderly Smith for the first time at the Missionary Conference on June 13th where we both were invited by Wheaton College to give addresses on "Anthropology and Its Importance in Missionary Work." Mr. Smith's interesting address emphasized the need of knowing anthropology, and how that many years of missionary labor had clearly shown him the necessity of preparation in the various fields of anthropology in order to obtain successful results.

After the conference I was able to become better acquainted with Mr. Smith and his missionary activities in preaching and writing. I found in him an ardent disciple of Christ with a burning desire in his heart to bring the light and the saving power of Christ to the people to whom the Lord had sent him. With his missionary zeal, I found in him also a keen, analytical mind desirous of understanding, of describing and of helping as much as possible the primitives with whom he was in contact. When he was so kind as to ask me to write a few words about this book, I accepted his invitation readily.

I found the present work by Mr. Smith not only extremely interesting to read, but also of great help especially to the future missionary. His views are founded upon the facts of reality which he himself observed on the field. Subjects in the field of Linguistics and Religion are dealt with more in detail than

the others, as he tells us himself, but this seemingly uneven distribution of material through the book does not minimize its value. In reading the manuscript a few corrections and changes were made by me, leaving without change the personal views and conclusions of the author dealing with such cardinal questions as the meaning of religion and its functions, the interpretation of social behaviour, morality, mentality, or judicial procedures of the natives. I did not even suggest changing the source material used by him in his work, which, as he mentions himself, includes authorities whose views are now considered out of date.

Let us believe and wish in the meantime that this book may be a very modest beginning for more detailed and larger works in the field of anthropology to be produced by the author, who has ample ability for this and a great desire to learn, as well as to contribute to the better preparation of missionaries.

Alexander Grigolia,
Chairman of the Department of
Anthropology and Archaeology,
Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.

CHAPTER ONE

WHY STUDY ANTHROPOLOGY?

The missionary should be first of all a Spirit-filled man of God. Unless he is energized by the Holy Spirit, his efforts will be counted as so much wood, hay and stubble. He should know how to win souls to Christ and to lead them on in a knowledge of His Word.

It is not sufficient, however, to be imbued with a great zeal to propagate the Truth as it is in Jesus Christ. One must be properly fitted for the task. It is becoming increasingly evident that the foreign missionary must be fully qualified to undertake his high calling of being an ambassador of his Lord and Saviour. Even as in the homeland higher standards are being demanded of those who preach the gospel, so on the foreign field is the requirement imperative, as the urgency of the task of evangelizing the world calls for the best we have. Not long ago, Dr. Robert H. Glover, of the China Inland Mission, said to a gathering of missionaries, "The time for the ordinary rank and file of missionaries is past. They must be specialists."

Sad to say, many in their desire to quickly reach the last tribes of earth are foregoing proper training and going to foreign lands, with disastrous results. There is no short-cut to winning souls. It takes blood, toil, tears and much prayer; and it calls for every natural ability with which we may be endowed. Every bit of special training will be taxed to the utmost, and the

better one is equipped the more efficient missionary he will be.

To the linguist, the explorer, the evangelist, the translator, the mechanic, the doctor, the architect, and the teacher, should be added the anthropologist. The science of the study of man and his culture embraces so many aspects of the missionary's work that it would seem to aid in nearly all of his other attainments.

No language study is effective without a knowledge of the people's mental limitations, morality and religion. No translation work can be efficient without a knowledge of the native's ideas and thought processes. How can an evangelist be proficient if he does not know beforehand some of his people's conceptions of sin and life beyond the grave? We must realize how vastly different they are from us, mentally, socially and religiously. Our ideas are founded upon the interpretation of Western civilization, and to understand the savage and his culture we must not use the Western yardstick. We must understand and interpret from his point of view.

To mention but two of the leading modern anthropologists in this connection, the following have contributed greatly to a knowledge of this subject:

Boas, Franz—*The Mind of Primitive Man,* 2nd revised edition, 1938.

Radin, Paul—*Primitive Man as Philosopher,* New York, 1927.

For example, we speak of the soul—the savage probably thinks of his shadow. We talk about God, and the primitive man may recall some dim legend about a great chief somewhere, perhaps having many wives,

who might not be as malevolent as the common demons of the forest. "Since," as one old Pnong told me, "the Great Chief of the Skies never bothers with us, we never bother with Him. We don't know Him." We use the words father and mother, but they do not convey the same meaning to a savage. We talk about an uncle, and in some tribes it will be taken for granted that the uncle is superior in authority over his nephews and nieces, than their own father. I wish I had known more about the matriarchal system before I had it thrust upon me in many queer situations involving our Bible school students and their relatives. When the woman is the head of the family, what place should she take in the church? There is bound to be dissatisfaction if mere men are to be allowed to run everything.

The missionary must be properly prepared, otherwise much time is wasted trying awkwardly to fathom the mysteries which might become quickly apparent and understood if he had training on the subject. They would then become stepping-stones to a quicker realization of the methods which should be employed. To be forewarned against the many pitfalls of one's ignorance is to be forearmed.

I found it extremely difficult to find a word for the Holy Spirit in the Raday language. For some time my interpreter insisted that the word I wanted was "Yang Amĭ Bă Jăk"—Spirit Mother Carry Good. I added the Jăk, which means good, and is the only way to express holy. Later, when I realized their conception of the soul and spirit, I was embarassed to find that I was using the term applied to a female spirit who nourishes the spirits or "larva" of the departed for a year or two, until a special abandoning sacrifice was made!

Today we use "Yang Mngăt Jăk," which is nothing else than Spirit Shadow Good. The Mngăt stands for shadow as well as their idea of a soul. I balked a long time at using this word, until I was convinced that it had a deeper meaning than mere shadow, but it is really not until they understand spiritual truth as we proclaim it in the gospel that the Mngăt takes on its full meaning. Savages usually regard their shadow as being part of them, and dead people are not supposed to cast shadows.

Should it be left for the colleges to teach anthropology, or should not the Bible schools also include this in their missions courses? I believe Mission boards should require new candidates, when possible, to take courses in sociology, psychology and especially in anthropology. The emphasis is placed on theological studies, and rightly so, but it is becoming increasingly necessary for missionaries to keep abreast with the currently higher standards of education.

Faunce[1] has some interesting things to say about the subject; although I do not always agree with his conclusions:

> In American colleges for the last twenty years the most popular studies have been what Woodrow Wilson calls "The New Humanities"—the study of society, the family, government, economic laws, social reform, and human uplift. Theological seminaries have made Hebrew an elective subject and established chairs of sociology. Anthropology has made us take a new interest in all the beliefs and customs of savage races, and comparative religion has taught us to find both resemblances and contrasts between Christianity and the great ethnic religions.

With the prospect of one of the greatest forward

[1] Faunce, *The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions*, p. 243.

movements the world has ever seen, to reach the last tribe with the gospel, surely it is only logical that the best-equipped missionaries be sent.

I believe we should even learn aviation. Why should missionary work, the most vital to the bringing back of our Lord, be carried on in such inefficient ways? The helicopter, when available, will no doubt be the means of revolutionizing missionary transport and travel, especially in difficult regions. But that is hardly anthropology! How savages will take to air travel is going to be an interesting study later on.

Until I studied anthropology I did not know that our Radays had anything to do with totemism. If someone had asked me if totemism was practised among the primitive people of Indo-China, I would have said no. Now I know why the villagers at Buon Mewal have a huge platform upon which part of the sacrifices are placed for the hungry vultures which perch thereon and in nearby trees.

I had a vague idea that perhaps the people fed them for good luck as they were the guardians of the village, but I did not realize that the vulture is the ancestor of the family. They always told me that it was only for good luck that the birds were fed, nothing more. For generations the first rolling of the drums has brought a score or more of huge vultures to the platform for their share in the sacrifice. Vultures, therefore, are kăm, or tabu, to these people and may not be killed. It is a good thing I did not try to shoot one of them.

Why do the Ksor people refrain from killing dogs? Because, I now realize, these people think they have descended from the mating between a woman and a dog. That is an indication of totemism. Knowing this

it will be easier to understand many peculiar customs and beliefs, and forms of the cult of animals and plants will be more quickly recognized.

I photographed an old Jeh with his arm around his own coffin (see page 33). The lid was elaborately carved with a buffalo head at one end. Just ornament, I was told. The Kaseng cover their coffins with a second lid carved like the back of a buffalo, with a large buffalo head carved at each end. One French writer expresses the opinion that this is surely a proof of totemism. It shows the desire of the savage to return to his prenatal state within his ancestor, the buffalo.

A writer on the subject of anthropology in the Encyclopedia Britannica[2] treats it in a practical way. Regarding the importance of the study he says:

> In order to save backward races from extinction and enable them to adapt to new circumstances, it would seem advisable . . . that all government servants and others—especially missionaries—coming into direct contact with natives should take as part of their preparatory studies a course in anthropology.

And again:

> The study of human development can, indeed, help the statesman in many ways. Nay, even if anthropology be taken in the all too narrow sense of the study of primitive man, there is much that the administrator and the missionary can learn from it that will be of practical help to them in their work.

In his introduction to Dr. Glover's book, *The Progress of World-Wide Missions,* Delavan L. Pierson says:

> The story of the carrying out of the commission includes the exploration of unknown and hostile territory, the mastery of thousands of strange languages and dialects, the conversion of many primitive and savage peoples, the building of hospitals

[2] *Encyclopedia Britannica* Vol. 2.

for the ministry of healing for both body and soul, the establishment of thousands of schools in all quarters of the globe for the education of the mind and heart, and the development of natural resources and of industries for the temporal welfare of men. This is the story of a victorious conflict against slavery, superstition, idolatry, drunkenness and all forms of personal and social sins; the story of the marvelous metamorphosis of individuals from savagery to sainthood, and the transformation of whole communities from a menace into a blessing to mankind. All material and human forces have been commandeered and made to contribute to these results, but the work has been accomplished, not through physical might or human intelligence and energy, but by the spiritual power given to the messengers of the crucified and risen Redeemer.

Many great missionaries were anthropologists. They were obliged to be by the very nature of their pioneer task. They brought to bear their intellect and practical forces on the problems before them and history is replete with their achievements.

Livingstone:[3]

Something within him urged to roam, to explore, to attempt the problem, not of a single station, but of a continent. It is no secret that this impulse brought him into difficulty with his supporters at home. Was he not engaging in "secular" work, when he had been sent out on a spiritual mission? Was he not attacking the extraneous and irrelevant problems, which were better left to the geographer, the naturalist, and the government official? But when, after ten years in Africa, he saw native boys exchanged for eight muskets, his life-purpose suddenly expanded. When, later, the paddle wheels of his steamboat on the Zambezi were entirely clogged with the corpses of slaves that had floated down in the night, that purpose became an irresistable passion. No amount of preaching in a single station on the coast could accomplish much, so long as a continuous flood of iniquity and suffering poured down from the interior. Defying the Portuguese government which blocked

[3] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

his path at every step, defying the Boers who knew he was undermining their power, defying the British opinion which would limit the scope of his endeavor, he declared "the end of the geographical feat is only the beginning of the missionary enterprise," and started out on his world-changing geographical feat. To be ignorant of Livingstone's life is to misunderstand the story of Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, France, Egypt, and America during the last seventy-five years.

It is no excuse for us to say that we are not Livingstones. When it comes to pioneering in vast new areas, we must have a wide outlook. The more extensive the training of the missionary, the greater will be his grasp of the needs and opportunities.

James Stewart of Lovedale[4] read the newly published volume of Livingstone's "Travels and Researches in South Africa," and, not content with a vague inspiration, he tabulated the contents. Chapter I in his note-book he headed "Dr. Livingstone as a botanist," and then in other chapters he discussed the great missionary "as a zoologist, a geologist, a medical man, an explorer, a missionary and a Christian." Such a mighty enthusiasm was communicated to him through that single volume that he could talk of nothing but Africa, and henceforth was known to his companions as "Stewart Africanus."

The missionary is a great civilizer. Although this is not his highest aim, it is the outcome of the changed lives that have been born again by the Spirit of God. Speaking of great missionaries and their contributions to human betterment and scientific knowledge, their zeal was first and foremost for the salvation of the lost. They were such great souls that they could not help that their compassion embraced the physical and temporal needs of their people as well as the spiritual. The world has acclaimed their accomplishments in the realm of human welfare, but their spiritual victories far outweigh any other. We must not go too far with

[4] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

the so-called social aspect of the gospel. The great William Carey said, "Our aim is not to civilize but to Christianize. Merely to civilize can never be the primary aim of the missionary. Civilization without Christianity among a savage people is a mere matter of clothes and whitewash. But among barbarous races a sound missionary method will in every way endeavor to promote civilization by education and industry, resting on the solid foundations of religious instruction."

"Civilization," said Stewart of Lovedale, "is a dry stick to plant in Africa or elsewhere."

[5]The primitive brutal conditions of savage life have forced the missionary to forget certain academic standards, to fling aside all fine-spun speculation, to ignore many denominational shibboleths and preach a plain gospel of divine love, of human decency, of social and spiritual uplift, of daily toil.

Dan Crawford:[6]

Here then is Africa's challenge to its missionaries. Will they allow a whole continent to live like beasts in hovels, millions of negroes cribbed, cabined, and confined in dens of disease? No doubt it is our diurnal duty to preach that the soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul. But God's equilateral triangle of body, soul, and spirit must never be ignored. Is not the body wholly *ensouled,* and is not the soul wholly *embodied?* . . . In other words, in Africa the only true fulfilling of your heavenly calling is the doing of earthly things in a heavenly manner.

I would cite two more examples of missionaries who were truly anthropologists. Rev. J. Batchelor, an Anglican missionary among the Ainu for twenty years, reduced their language to writing, translated the whole Bible and organized the Christian Church. His book, *Ainu Life and Lore* (Tokyo, 1927) is looked upon as

[5] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
[6] Crawford, *Thinking Black*, p. 444.

one of the best examples of ethnological research by missionaries.

Dr. R. H. Codrington wrote what is termed the best account of the Melanesians in his book under that title (Oxford, 1891).

Men like these could never have accomplished either the social or spiritual results that ranged them with the world's great, without an intimate knowledge of mankind.

We hear missionaries describe customs and experiences in their adopted lands, but do we understand the significance of them? Are they merely entertaining stories or can we see behind them the great primitive pattern into which the savage's life is woven? I never realized, for instance, how awful the practice of head-hunting really is until I studied the subject. The photos of headless bodies, hacked and blood-stained, made it real indeed. In his book[7] Charles "Cannibal" Miller writes graphically of his experiences in New Guinea when, according to him, he was obliged to lead a band of blood-thirsty savages against a neighboring tribe, or be killed. The horrors of that terrible encounter will live with me for a long time. The author takes us blow by blow, hacking and stabbing and killing through a day-long fight. Once the blood lust had been aroused, there was no limit to the orgy of torture, rape, drinking of human blood and eating of raw human flesh as primeval savages fought for heads with stone axes and bamboo knives. Any warfare is dreadful, but could it ever be worse than this?

I know now what it means to cut off heads, skin them and smoke them to be kept as trophies. I am sure missionaries who expect to reach these people

[7] Miller, *Cannibal Caravan.*

would profit by a knowledge of such practices before entering the field.[8]

[9]To pass our time in the study of the sciences, in learning what others have discovered, and in extending the bounds of human knowledge has in all ages been reckoned the most dignified and happy of human occupations. . . . A rational being is bound by every motive of interest and duty to direct his mind towards pursuits which are found to be the sure path of virtue as well as of happiness.

Surely there should be no question as to the importance of a scientific study of primitive man by missionaries. It is not only a duty, but, as Lord Brougham says, a happy occupation. It leads deeper and deeper into valuable research that can have a vital bearing on missionary work.

If any further reasons were needed, what better can I present than the valued opinions of some of the outstanding missionary leaders of the day? In response to a brief questionnaire about the importance of missionaries studying anthropology, several well-known missionary educators very graciously sent me their views.

Three questions were asked and they were answered unanimously in the affirmative. To the question, "Do you consider the study of anthropology vital to efficient missionary work?" Dr. Samuel Zwemer added, "Yes, certainly. We need to know the type of people and their history."

Question number two asked, "Should not the study be on a par with phonetics, comparative religion, mission-

[8] For illustrations of these skinned trophy heads, see Guide, Part 5, *Ethnology of Melanesia,* Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago. This book, by the way, is an excellent example of how anthropological data should be gathered and illustrated.

[9] Lord Brougham, *Objects, Advantages and Pleasures of Science,* p. 39.

ary principles and practice?" Dr. V. R. Edman, President of Wheaton College used the word, "Decidedly."

The third question was, "Would a missionary not make an infinitely better linguist, translator, teacher and evangelist if he knew more about his people's customs, religion, mentality, etc., beforehand?" All agreed that he would, and Dr. Edman wrote, "Very much so, in my opinion."

Dr. Edman added, "We have been very favorably impressed by the anthropology work done at Wheaton, and the reaction of missionary candidates."

Dr. Thomas Moseley, President-Dean of the Missionary Training Institute, Nyack, N. Y., wrote: "It is my conviction, especially after consulting with the Rev. Robert B. Ekvall, missionary to Tibet, who has done extensive work in the field of anthropology, that all missionary candidates should be required to take fundamental courses in anthropology, and Seminary and Bible school students as a whole should be guided to elect such courses for the purpose of enlarging their vision and giving them a more sympathetic attitude toward world missions."

Dr. William H. Hockman, the Director of the Missionary Course at the Moody Bible Institute, kindly wrote in part:

> From a purely cultural point of view, as one who should possess a keen, intelligent interest in the people amongst whom he expects to spend a good portion of his life, the missionary should apply himself to acquiring a broad familiarity with all that goes to make up life in his adopted country.
>
> But, more than that, a missionary really needs to become an anthropologist in order to be a good missionary. His one great aspiration is to win the confidence of the natives and lead them to accept a radically new style of life. How can he approach the soul of a man without first becoming somewhat familiar

with the man's outward life—his language, his history, his social customs, his physical environment?

Going beyond that, how can he expect to fathom the man's mind unless he knows something of his philosophy of life and —most vital of all—his religious beliefs? The gospel cannot be just thrown at people; it must be shared from one heart to another. Anything that will help to penetrate the inner recesses of the human heart, and open the door to the love of God in Christ Jesus, is well worth while.

The missionary should know as much about his people as the anthropologist who studies them from the scientific standpoint. There is this difference: the more the missionary knows, the greater becomes his responsibility. He does not stop with a scientific knowledge of language, religion, customs, etc., but each brings a definite obligation. As he records a language he must also master and use it throughout his missionary ministry as a vehicle of light and life in Christ Jesus. As he understands a religion he must also present a new religion and his whole life and energy will be employed in turning the people from the old to the new. The anthropologist's work is done when he completes his survey of social organization and culture, but there the missionary's work only commences. He must actively endeavor to ameliorate conditions. His will not be a coldly critical, laboratory study, but a means to the highest end, the most altruistic aim that man can have—bringing eternal life to lost and fallen humanity.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS ANTHROPOLOGY?

ANTHROPOLOGY is a comparatively recent science, yet since Broca, the first to initiate the study back in the 1850's, many of the theories and views have become obsolete. The study of man's history and development is so all-embracing that it is wise to have the subject well defined, but not all definitions current a few years ago are acceptable today. The word antiquated is used for theories which may have been current only ten or fifteen years ago.

I. DEFINITIONS AND CLASSIFICATIONS

I have included in this chapter some of the detailed definitions and classifications from well-known authorities, both early and modern. These are given for comparison, and should afford a quick grasp of the main topics.

1. TERMS DEFINED

Funk and Wagnalls Desk Standard Dictionary gives the following definitions.

a. Anthropology—The science of man in general. The science of the physical facts concerning man and his development and history.

b. Ethnology—The science of the natural races and families of man.

c. Ethnography—The branch of anthropology that considers man geographically and descriptively, treating of the sub-division of races, the causes of migration, etc.

Today the word ethnography is not used, and ethnology represents the descriptive study of the culture of a special group or tribe.

2. Branches

Élie Réclus[1] classified the branches of anthropology into six sections of human development:

a. Material development
b. Family development
c. Social development
d. Intellectual development
e. Religious development
f. Moral development

In the same article Réclus adds:

> Ethnography embraces descriptive details, and ethnology the rational exposition, of the human aggregates and organizations known as hordes, clans, tribes and nations, especially in the earlier, the savage and barbarous, stages of their progress. . . . Both belong to the general science of anthropology or the natural history of mankind.
>
> Ethnographists deal with particular tribes and with particular institutions and particular customs prevailing among the several peoples of the world and especially among so-called savages.
>
> Historical ethnology—researches into the origin, the filiation, the customs, the institutions of wild and barbarous tribes still existing or of whom we have authentic records. . . . Ethnology records the fact that some races may have been stationary and some may have retrograded. . . . Ethnology has become the science of observation, a branch of natural history.

[1] Réclus, "Anthropology," *Encycl. Brit.* (1898).

Nearly all races are mixed, we are reminded by a writer on the subject of classification,[2] there being few pure types anywhere:

> All the ingenious schemes of classification as yet put forward by ethnologists are provisional and temporary, but it is convenient to retain the use of such familiar terms as Caucasian, Mongolian, Polynesian, Negro, Negrito and Papuan.

3. Classification by James[3]

a. Physical anthropology

(1) Zoological—the study of anatomical and physical characters which determine the zoological position of man.

(2) Paleontological—the antiquity of man.

(3) Ethnological—the comparative study of the physical characters which distinguish the principal races of mankind from each other. The classification and geological distribution of races and sub-races. The influence of environment upon physique. The elements of anthropometry, the physiology of sensation, and the methods of the comparative study of the senses.

b. Cultural anthropology

(1) Archaeological—the antiquity of man as ascertained by the earliest remains of his handiwork. The persistence of early conditions of culture in later times.

(2) Ethnological—the comparative study and classifications of peoples based upon conditions of material culture, language, and religious and social institutions and ideas, as distinguished from physical characteristics.

(3) Sociological—the comparative study of social phenomena with special reference to earlier history of:

[2] *The Living Races of Mankind* (University Society, New York), p. 108.
[3] James, *Introduction to Anthropology.*

a. Social organization (including customs, government and laws).

b. Moral ideas and codes.

c. Magical and religious practices and beliefs (including the treatment of the dead).

d. Modes of communicating ideas by signs, articulate language, pictographs and writing.

(4) Technological—the comparative study of the origin, development and geographical distribution of the principal arts and industries, with their appliances.

In an article in the American Encyclopedia, Broca says that there have been so many changes and mixtures of ancestral strains that it is impossible to determine certainly to which race certain peoples belong. White, black and yellow—Caucasian, Negro and Mongolian. Three primary divisions. No scheme of classifying is satisfying. Ethnography studies peoples, ethnology, races.

4. New Standard Dictionary Classification

Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary, 1929, gives the following definitions and classifications:

a. What man is—Physical Anthropology:

(1) Embryo—Ontogeny
(2) Body—Anatomy
(3) Function—Physiology
(4) Form and color, weight and number—Anthropometry
(5) Nervous system—Psychology
(6) Natural divisions—Ethnology

b. What man does—Cultural Anthropology:

(1) To express his thoughts—Glossology
(2) To supply his wants—Technology

(3) To give pleasure—Esthetology
(4) To cooperate in life's ends—Sociology
(5) To account for phenomena—Sophiology
(6) In presence of spirit world—Hierology

c. The past of culture history is studied:

(1) In ancient artifacts—Archeology
(2) In decipherment of inscriptions—Paleography
(3) In acts and sayings of the unlettered—Folklore
(4) In written records—History

d. Anthropology makes use of the following sciences:

(1) To determine materials—Mineralogy
(2) To fix the age of relics—Geology
(3) In studying man and environments—Geography
(4) To identify plants and animals—Zoology

e. Theologically—It treats of man, both in his original and in his fallen condition. It embraces the consideration of man's creation, primitive condition, probation and apostasy, original sin, and actual transgressions.

f. Ethnology—The science of the natural races and families of men. It embraces:

(1) Ethnography—the study of races and race characteristics
(2) Sociology
(3) Ethnotechnics
(4) Comparative religion
(5) Linguistics
(6) Folklore

5. "Notes and Queries"

From the standpoint of field work, the most helpful book I have come across in my search for material especially applicable to missionaries is *Notes and Queries on Anthropology,* 4th edition, published by the Royal

A Jeh's only implement to cultivate the mountain rice on the steep hillsides. The hat is typical of those worn in the Philippines as well.

←

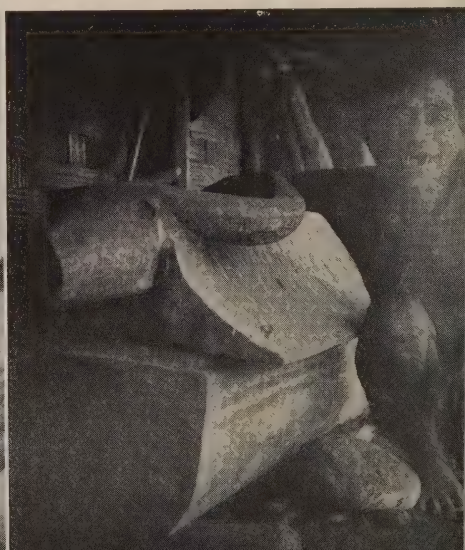
Sacrificed a month before, this buffalo head guards the village against evil. It was highly odoriferous.

→

Horrible blood sacrifices are common—this time a water buffalo.

The buffalo head just sacrificed will be brought into the house during the ceremony, and incantations made over it.

Note the carved buffalo head on coffin lid — an indication of totemism.



Anthropological Institute, London, 1912, for the British Association for the Advancement of Science. I understand there is a later revised edition of 1928.

This book is written to help travelers and missionaries to know how to observe and record anthropological data. Under each heading there are many questions to aid in further inquiry and observation. There are also notes on accepted terminology of religion and social organization. This latter is very helpful. I remember how much time we spent on our conference floor trying to determine the difference between a tribe and a dialect and a race, during discussion periods. I am especially indebted to this valuable book for the practical help it has been in this study and would recommend it to all who expect to undertake anthropological observations.

This book divides the subject into four parts, and I am taking the liberty of quoting the table of contents in detail:

a. Physical Anthropology

Anthropometry. Descriptive characters, measurements, collection and measurement of skulls and skeletons

Attitudes and movements; customary actions

b. Technology

Personal enhancement; deformations; painting, staining, tatu, and cicatrization
Collection of specimens
Personal ornaments
Clothing
Habitations and other buildings
Earthworks

Stone monuments, and earthworks connected therewith

Waterworks

Fire

Food, cannibalism

Drugs

Collection of food-stuffs; hunting, fishing; social observances arising from the collection of food

Domestication of animals

Agriculture

Weapons—of offense and of defense

Leather work

Strings, knots, needlework, nets and their uses

Basketry, matting and wattlework

Weaving—looms, and their parts; textile patterns; textile design; collection of textiles

Dyeing and painting

Woodwork—bamboo, gourd, etc.

Pottery—glass

Stone, bone, ivory, shell and other hard materials

Mining and quarrying

Metal-working

Machinery

Travel and transport; by land; by water

c. Sociology

Population

Life history of the individual in society. Birth; education; puberty and initiation; marriage and relations between the sexes; death and funeral; daily life; proper names

Social organization. Tribal marks; relationship; terminology of social organization

Economics of the social group. Pastoral life; agri-

cultural life, industry and trade; property and inheritance; slavery

Government; politics

Morals

Warfare

External relations between communities

d. Arts and Sciences

Expression of the emotions

Gesture; sign-language and signals

Language; phonetic alphabet; notes on learning a new language

Writing

Fine art

Stories, sayings and songs

Music; written records; musical instruments; mechanical records

Dancing

Drama

Games and amusements; string figures and tricks

Reckoning and measurement

Money and other measurements of value; medicine

Religion; terminology

Adopted elements in culture; importation, imitation, teaching

For actual observation and recording on the field, the above probably can hardly be improved upon as an outline or guide. This is necessary if one is to make a scientific study of a tribe or people. We cannot get a well-rounded and complete picture without making a study of all the branches of anthropology. Obviously, most missionaries will not be interested in delving so deeply into the subject, so they may choose which

branches interest them most. But the writers of *Notes and Queries* warn us that:[4]

If you wish to obtain a complete knowledge of any one department of anthropology, you must cover the whole field of the science. Nothing is more futile than for an investigator to limit his study to the sociology, the religion, or the technology of a people. It is hopeless to attempt to obtain a complete account of the religion of a people without studying at the same time the mode of life, sociology, the language and the technology. Among ourselves these departments are to a large extent separate and capable of independent investigation, but the lower you go in the scale of culture, the more are they found to be interdependent and inseparable. . . . If you start on the investigation of a special topic, and probe to the bottom, I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that in anthropological work you may expect to get about one-third of what there is to be obtained by covering the whole field. Thus when dealing with the duties and privileges of kin, direct inquiry will obtain a certain amount of information, but duties connected with fishing, hunting, childbirth, and other pursuits or occasions will not be remembered, or only cursorily mentioned, and a full account will only be obtained when those subjects are being dealt with and are prominent in the minds of the witnesses.

These classifications and definitions show some of the varied approaches to anthropology during the past fifty years. Anthropologists find great difficulty in agreeing upon classifications, as would appear from the following:[5]

The classification of mankind is a subject beset with many difficulties, and has at all times given rise to disagreement. In the early days of Anthropology a lengthy and bitter controversy arose around the question whether the human race was composed of one or more species, and though the great majority of anthropologists now hold the view of specific unity, there are still a few who incline to the opposite theory. The division of mankind into races and tribes has been attempted by many

[4] *Notes and Queries*, p. 114.
[5] British Museum, *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* (London, 1925), p. 9.

anthropologists and according to many criteria. None of the classifications proposed are satisfactory from every point of view, and there has been a growing feeling that the work of classification should be suspended for the present until further investigation has been made into the meaning of the various characteristics used as criteria.

Dr. Alexander Grigolia has given us the following modern approach to the subject as taught in Wheaton College:

Today we define anthropology as the study of man and his culture in space and time. In "space" it means all over the world. In "time" is meant from the very beginning of their existence when traces of culture and human remains were found by science.

We may study human beings from two points of view: biological and cultural. To study man from a biological aspect means to study his anatomy; physiology, or functions of the body; and psychology, or the expression of his mental life. This comprises the racial study of man and deals with physical anthropology (living races) and human paleontology (so-called pre-historic races).

By the cultural study of man we mean the analytical and descriptive study of the whole of the material, social and spiritual culture of man in time and space. These studies comprise the field of cultural anthropology and ethnology.

By ethnology we mean the descriptive study of the culture of a special group, as for example, a certain tribe.

For an example of the practical application of anthropology in modern times we would refer to the Year Book of the Encyclopedia Britannica for 1942, pages 55-6, under the subject of Anthropology.

Once begun in an orderly and scientific fashion, the compiling of anthropological information, if commenced early, will soon result in a thrilling picture of the people that will not only be extremely useful, but will become one of the most fascinating of hobbies.

I have heard missionaries admit their dislike for the people for whom they labored. They could not stand the foreign ways and exasperating differences in mentality and outlook of the natives. It was only a duty, to them, to preach the gospel, not a great joy. Cannot the reason be found in an unwillingness to study and sympathetically understand the people? I doubt if one became interested in the anthropology of a people whether he would have such an indifferent attitude. I believe the missionary who takes pains to search out and compare and understand the intricacies of native life and thought will soon learn to look upon his people, not in a coldly dissecting way, but in a deeply sympathetic way.

It will take time and effort to do this. It is hard, I admit, to take notes and make drawings and ask questions when one is tired and the tropical heat saps most of one's vitality. It will have to be done in between the seasons of preaching and spiritual ministrations. It will probably be necessary to crouch by the fire in a smoky hut, with no chair or table to use. But it can be done and, I repeat, the earlier in our missionary ministry we learn the method, the greater will be the desire to accomplish something of lasting benefit.

CHAPTER THREE

DEBATABLE THEORIES

EVERYTHING in missionary work must be subservient to winning souls. Building and educating, and repairing engines are very necessary, but they must be kept within bounds. Nothing must hinder the carrying out of the command of Christ, "Go and preach the gospel."

I. CAUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Anthropology is such a fascinating study that there is always the danger of spending too much time on it, to the detriment of the work. We must know where to draw the line.

Governments are always pleased to receive reports and contributions to scientific knowledge concerning their territories, such as legends, customs, etc., and one could easily spend too much time delving into such interesting things.

I have never felt it necessary to inquire into immoral practices, for instance, or swear words or the filthy stories with which the natives abound. They have very picturesque although obscene ways of cursing one another, but I do not think we have time to spare for any morbid muck-raking into heathenism's cesspools of uncleanness. Any knowledge that will help us materially in our work is worth while, but we must be guided by the Holy Spirit to keep first things first.

Another danger in the study is the fact that the scientists usually hold to the theory of organic evolution.

"The philosophy of organic evolution underlies all ethnological research."[1] The current view of Lull, whose book is used in all leading universities of the United States, is similar:

> [2]All scientists and most other thinking men are now convinced of the truth of evolution, both inorganic and organic.

On the subject of "The Missing Link," James[3] states:

> No modern zoologist has the least doubt as to the general fact of organic evolution, consequently anthropologists take as their starting point the belief in the derivation of man from some other animal form. . . . The ancestors of the human race are therefore to be sought somewhere in the order of Primates, past or present. . . . Man and the apes are both descended from a common ancestor.

The Christian, of course, has no fears with regard to the so-called scientific theories of the origin of man. He realizes that, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned" (I Cor. 2:14).

With the evolutionists we differ, but since man is a fact, we, with them, are interested in his development.

II. UNSETTLED QUESTIONS

Science is engaged in a never-ending search for facts. There are bound to be great differences of opinion, and we must recognize the lack of unanimity in their conclusions. Even our current dictionaries vary in their definitions of anthropological subjects, and the only way to keep abreast of the science is to know what the outstanding leaders say.

One controversy concerning the lack of religion in some tribes will be mentioned later under Religion.

[1] Réclus, "Ethnology," *Encycl. Brit.* (1898).
[2] Lull, Chas., *Organic Evolution* (2nd rev. ed.), p. 83.
[3] James, *Introduction to Anthropology,* pp. 2-12.

1. Degeneration

Another problem under discussion and contested by the scientists is whether savages have retrograded from some higher plane of civilization or whether they have always progressed.

The evolutionists present their case as follows:

Brinton:[4]

"Primitive" to the ethnologist means the earliest of a given race or tribe of whom he has trusty information. It has reference to a stage of culture, rather than to time. Peoples who are in a savage or barbarous condition, with slight knowledge of the arts, lax governments, and feeble institutions, are spoken of as "primitive," although they may be our contemporaries. They are very far from being the earliest men or resembling them. Hundreds of generations have toiled to produce even their low stage of culture up through others, far inferior, of which we can form some idea by the aid of language and prehistoric archaeology.

They are therefore not degenerates, ruins fallen from some former higher estate, some condition of pristine nobility. That is an ancient error, now, I hope, exploded and dismissed from sane teaching. Even the rudest of savages is a creation of steady long-continued advancement from the primeval man. We have evidence of what he was, in his implements and weapons preserved in pre-glacial strata and in the mud-floors of the caves he inhabited.

These announce to us a law of progressive advancement for all races, over all the earth, on the same lines of progress.

So the human mind groped for dateless ages amid brutish toils and pleasures, unconscious of grander aims; until he thought of God, rising to consciousness within the soul, whispered to it of endless progress and divine ideals, in quest of which it has sought and will ever continue seeking, with tireless endeavor and constantly increasing reward. This question settled, another arises. . . .

Sir John Lubbock, one of the earlier writers, says that races could not have gone back to savagery with-

[4] Brinton, Daniel G., *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (1905), p. 11.

out leaving some trace of having lived on a higher plane. At the close of his interesting study on the primitive condition of man, he sums up his argument with the following conclusions:[5]

a. That existing savages are not the descendants of civilized ancestors.

b. That the primitive condition of man was of utter barbarism. (Adam was a primitive savage.)

c. That from this condition various races have independently raised themselves. "One grand scheme of progression."

Dr. E. B. Tylor, one of the earlier authorities on Anthropology, takes a more moderate view in his *Primitive Culture:*[6] "Degeneration is not the primary cause of savagery, but a secondary action largely and deeply affecting the general development of civilization."

In his *Pre-Historic Times,* Sir John Lubbock states:[7]

> It is a common opinion that savages are, as a general rule, only the miserable remnants of nations once more civilized; but although there are some well-established cases of national decay, there is no scientific evidence which would justify us in asserting that this applies to savages in general. No doubt there are instances in which nations once progressive have not only ceased to advance in civilization, but have even fallen back. Still, if we compare the accounts of early travellers with the state of things now existing, we shall find no evidence of any general degradation. . . . Moreover, if the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, New Zealand, etc., had ever been inhabited by a race of men more advanced than those whom we are in the habit of regarding as the aborigines, some evidence of this would surely have remained. And this not being the case, none of our travellers having observed any ruins, or other traces of

[5] Lubbock, Sir John, *The Origin of Civilization.*
[6] Tylor, Edward B., *Primitive Culture* (Vol. 1), p. 48.
[7] Lubbock, Sir John, *Pre-Historic Times,* p. 441.

a more advanced civilization, there does not appear to be any sufficient reason for supposing from whom they are ascended.

From the biblical standpoint I quote Dr. Strong and Dr. Zwemer:

Dr. Strong takes issue with Lubbock and Tylor, and gives the following reasons:[8]

a. Progress has been downward. . . . No nation is known to have recovered from barbarism except as the result of influence from without.

b. All have some knowledge of and have made use of metals.

c. Barbarous customs were marks of broken-down civilization rather than relics of a primitive and universal savagery.

d. The universal tradition of a golden age . . . is based upon the Scripture view of creation in holiness and subsequent apostasy.

Dr. Strong quotes the Duke of Argyll and other proponents of the theory of degeneration, as also Wallace:[9] "Civilization does not reproduce itself. It must first be kindled and it can then be kept alive only by a power genuinely Christian."

Dr. Samuel Zwemer has made a stout defense of the biblical theory of degeneration, in his review of the book, *The Origin and Growth of Religion,* by P. Wilhelm Schmidt, and concludes:[10] "We can only conclude that the history of religion has been one of decline and degeneration, rather than of evolution and unbroken ascent." Dr. Zwemer's book should be in the hands of every missionary. He refutes the sterile and materialistic theories of the evolutionists with the majestic truth of Holy Writ.

[8] Strong, Augustus H., *Systematic Theology* (Vol. 2), p. 527.
[9] Wallace, *Nature.*
[10] Zwemer, Samuel W., *The Origin of Religion* (Cokesbury Press, 1935), p. 15.

I have always regarded the savages of French Indo-China as having degenerated from a once greater civilization, when they inhabited the fertile lowlands until thrust back into their mountain fastnesses by powerful enemies. Their stronger physique made it possible for them to withstand the rigors of the higher altitudes and fever-infested jungles, otherwise their pursuers, the Annamese, would have long since overrun their territory. Today, the Annamese die like flies when exposed to the malarial forests in the mountains.

The French usually hold to that opinion, as for example:[11] "Il est probable que primitivement les Mois occupaient une grande partie de l'Indochine et qu'ensuite ils ont été refoulés dans les montagnes."

In the introduction to his translation of an ancient Raday legend,[12] Sabatier speaks of his great emotion when he heard for the first time this sad story, the last, probably, of the old historical chants to be remembered by the people. It evoked, he said, a past history which was a revelation to him. "Quelle preuve irréfutable que les tribus du Darlac avaient été autre chose que les misérables Moi d'aujourd'hui!"[13]

[14]Some of these wild tribes are still distinguished by a gentle disposition, a certain innate politeness and courtesy as well as a surprising artistic taste and skill lavished on their dress, ornaments, pipes, quivers and other objects. These traits may well be a faint reflection of a now extinguished culture still cherished by these children of nature lost for ages amid their dense woodlands, and which nothing can ever induce them to leave.

[11] *La Grande Encyclopedie,* Tome Quatrieme, p. 122, "Mois." Trans: "It is probable that formerly the Mois (Savages) occupied a large part of Indo-China and that afterwards they were pushed back into the mountains."

[12] Sabatier, L., *La Chanson de Damsan* (Hanoi, 1933).

[13] Translation—"What irrefutable proof that these tribes of the Darlac had been other than the miserable Mois (savages) of today!"

[14] *The Living Races of Mankind,* "French Indo-China," (University Press, N. Y.), p. 108.

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE—(PART ONE)

LANGUAGE is perhaps the most important branch of anthropology to the missionary. From his very first contacts to the time he leaves his field, he will be occupied with language, the language of his people. His whole ministry will be clothed in it.

He will begin learning the language and will never, or should never, stop learning it. He may do some research work in regard to the customs of his people, their origin and their beliefs, but he will never be finished if he wishes to perfect himself in his knowledge of the language.

As experience in speaking the language is gained, the gospel is preached with greater fulness of expression, deeper meanings of spiritual truth are expounded, and he becomes one with his people as he thinks as well as speaks in their tongue. He will probably also spend years translating the Scriptures and other literature into the native language. Naturally, then, the missionary should learn as much as he can about linguistics.

There are missionaries who try to get along with a smattering of the native tongue, or with a very poor pronunciation of it. Some, I admit, cannot master foreign languages as well as others, but there should be no excuse for slip-shod speaking. The first two years

on the field are employed almost exclusively in language study.

[1]Those who have the advantage of living among savage or barbarous races can do work of enormously higher value than anything which the world has yet seen if they will combine a full knowledge of the language with attention to method. It cannot be too strongly urged on those who live and work among peoples of low culture that their first duty is to acquire as completely as possible that knowledge of the language of the people without which, not only any scientific work they do, but any other business they may have with the people, must lose much of its value.

In this respect, then, the missionary who masters the native language is the best suited to undertake anthropological inquiry. If the anthropologist needs a thorough knowledge of the language, how much more the missionary?

One is surprised that it should be necessary to emphasize the importance of proper language study for missionaries, but it appears that some still labor under the impression that they can forego it and be efficient workers. I will mention two things about which I believe we should be careful.

I. INTERPRETERS

Preaching the gospel through interpreters, heathen or Christian, has never seemed to me to be a good plan if it can be avoided. It is true that the Lord has used this method to the salvation of souls, but I cannot but feel its limitations.

If, when one has practically mastered a primitive language, he finds it extremely difficult to keep the attention and explain spiritual truth to child-like minds, how can an interpreter get the message across?

[1] *Notes and Queries*, p. 108.

I have often interpreted messages to our people from visiting friends, and unless time was taken in between each rush of words to properly explain each thought as we went along, I found that they got very little of it.

A speaker preaching to more advanced people can use sentences and thoughts which are quickly grasped, but which would be far over the heads of our primitive folk. It is difficult for them to follow some line of reasoning, especially when it is about a religion that is totally foreign to them. Anyone interpreting a message to savages must be able to interject explanations; know by the expression on the faces of his hearers whether it is necessary to repeat or elaborate, or link it with some well-known illustration from their customs or experiences that will throw light on the subject. A proverb or recent happening known to all might be just the thing to clarify their understanding of the message.

I found very few people for whom I interpreted realized the importance of speaking very simply, slowly and with repetition and recapitulation from time to time. I fail to see how an interpreter, unless he be especially endowed, and moved upon by the Holy Spirit, can take the place of a missionary who uses the language of the people fluently and well.

Savages cannot sit for a long time and concentrate on a message unless it is made dramatic, with human interest manifested through the story or by a picture to rivet their attention. In Santa Barbara, Cal., recently, a priest who was guiding us through the old Roman Catholic Mission there, explained that the early altars used in worship by the Indians were made so as to attract and keep the wandering attention of the primitive people. He showed us a gaudy altar en-

crusted with small mirrors that caused the reflected light from the candles to flash from their hundreds of sparkling facets.

Sermons with one, two and three points, homiletically correct, and given in a ministerial voice, fail to impress minds that are not used to any intellectual effort. They show little interest in words that are read. They are not used to complex dissertations. Speaking themselves in simple assertions, they seldom link two phrases together with conjunctions as we would.

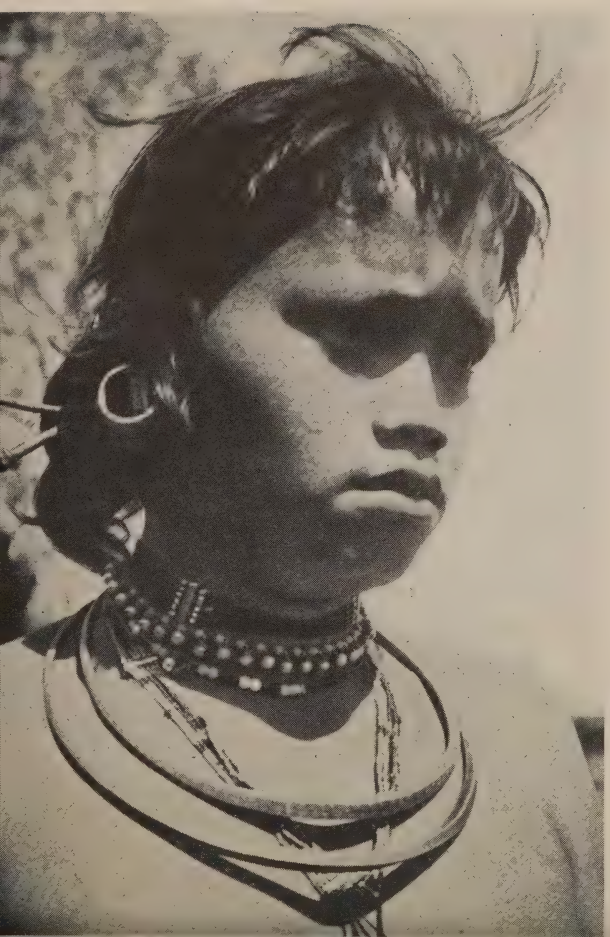
We found that we must talk to them as we would to children. Then we ask them questions to see whether they are grasping the truth. If one of them gets the story we ask him to come to the front and tell it to the others, correcting any mistakes while he goes along. It is informal, I admit, but we are there to see that they understand, and that means unbending on our part and adapting ourselves to their needs.

Interpreters have their use, of course, especially when speaking to new tribes, but I cannot see how they can be expected to be of permanent help in daily preaching and the building up of a church. It should be the aim of every missionary to become proficient in the language, and use interpreters only in the very beginning, if at all. When there is an exceptionally good Christian man who can interpret not only one's words, but the truth as he has experienced it, then by all means use him, but these are usually hard to find. Most interpretation in the beginning has to be done by heathen men, with obviously poor success.

II. PREACHING IN SIGN LANGUAGE

I once heard a dear servant of God explain how the gospel was preached to some very primitive people by

Mongoloid and Malay blend in this Raday chief. His homespun vest is blue with red chest cording, and brass buttons.



Light and shadow on a Pnong woman's face.

←

Jarai woman wiping black juice from her pipe on her lips Notice top teeth filed off, and ivor ear plugs.

→

a combination of grunts, signs and pointing to the sun. I am afraid it is beyond me to understand how such a method, although spectacular to describe, could be effective. Savages sometimes show great interest, seemingly, and nod their heads at some of the things you say, but it is not infrequent that their interpretation of your sayings is entirely foreign to that which you wish them to receive. No, I believe speech is necessary in the conversion of a soul, and a speech that he can understand.

In Buon Krum, a Raday village, there was an old man who was stone deaf. We tried the best we knew how to explain the gospel to him showing pictures of Christ on the Cross, and by pointing, and by the actions of the others during the meetings, but we do not feel he grasped much if any of the truth. He simply shook his head and looked blank.

This does not mean that one cannot converse with sign language, for that has been demonstrated many times. I do feel, however, that the particular sign language must be studied and mastered, just as any spoken language.

Sir John Lubbock[2] has this to say about sign language:

> Even the lowest races of which we have any satisfactory account possess a language, imperfect though it may be, and eked out to a great extent by signs. I do not suppose, however, that this custom has arisen from the absence of words to represent their ideas, but rather because in all countries inhabited by savages the number of languages is very great, and hence there is a great advantage in being able to communicate by signs. . . . Although signs may serve to convey ideas in a manner which would probably surprise those who have not

[2] Lubbock, *"The Origin of Civilization,"* p. 416.

studied this question, still it must be admitted that they are far inferior to the sounds of the voice.

III. SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

A very great need for practical language training for missionaries has now been met in this country by the well-known Summer Institute of Linguistics, in co-operation with the Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc., 1305 N. Louise St., Glendale 7, Cal. So successful has the course been that many missionary societies are requiring their new candidates to take it.

Quoting from their Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 3, entitled "Translation":

> A great milestone has been reached in the publication of eight linguistic text-books written by Drs. Pike and Nida, Prof. Wonderly and Miss Eunice Pike. They are proving to be a great help to missionaries and have been acclaimed by scientists. Dr. Pike's book, "Phonetics," in fact, has been called a basic contribution to the subject.
>
> An anthropologist of the (Mexican) National Museum recently wrote—"The members of the Summer School of Linguistics have continued their missionary labors, and at the same time they have amassed magnificent data for the study of linguistics and ethnology in our country. I have had the opportunity to speak with some of the Indians who now can read and write in their own language and Spanish. But there is something more important in the moral education that the Indian is receiving, because their manner of life has changed radically. The Indians do not favor tobacco, nor alcohol, nor ribaldry, and in their mein and conversation one observes clearly the purity of their thoughts and the uprightness of their conduct, desiring to be useful to their community and their fatherland.

Over one hundred translators are now in Mexico under the auspices of the Wycliffe Translators, Inc., and of the hundreds of missionaries and missionary candidates who have attended the Summer Institute

of Linguistics, two or three hundred are now on the field working under different missionary societies.

In the Bibliography at the end of this work will be found a number of the books used at the Wycliffe Camp, the most up-to-date and the most useful books that missionaries in pioneer work can find at present. There is no better way to study this most important branch of anthropology than by attending the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Students attending this course are taught how to quickly analyze a language, and by writing down hundreds of pages of native legends and stories, to arrange a grammar. Phonetics, phonemics, morphology, and tone languages are taught, with techniques for reducing languages to writing.

It is not too much to say that this organization, under God, is becoming one of the most important practical forces working toward the speedy evangelization of the world.

There is an attempt being made at Wheaton College to build up as a branch of the Department of Anthropology the studies in linguistic phonetics with the aim of preparing not only translators, but Christian linguists. It is one thing to be able to write down the sounds of the language (phonetics), and another thing to study and know the languages of the world in order to compare them and to find out their affinities and origins.

Faunce[3] reminds us of the great work already done by missionaries:

> The translation of Christian literature into non-Christian tongues is a herculean task, involving in many cases the cre-

[3] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

ation of a written language. The Bible, or a large part of it, has been translated into more than 500* distinct languages and dialects, and many of these had first to be reduced to writing. It is easy to record such a fact but who can measure the appalling toil involved? Who but missionaries, moved by a world-conquering impulse, would undertake it?

"Huge is the debt," says Sir H. H. Johnston, "which philologists owe to the labors of British missionaries in Africa."

[4]In India a new era was created by the linguistic achievements of the distinguished missionary and Orientalist, William Carey. He translated the Bible either in whole or in part, either alone or with others, into twenty-eight Indian languages.

Adoniram Judson finished his monumental translation of the entire Bible into Burmese in 1834, after twenty-one years of incredible toil. At the age of fifty-six he wrote: "Thanks be to God, I can now say I have attained. I have knelt down before Him with the last leaf in my hand. . . . May He make His own inspired Word now complete in the Burmese tongue, the grand instrument of filling all Burma with songs of praise to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Dr. A. T. Pierson mentions an epic saying about the Chinese language:[5]

The Chinese language, requiring from six to ten thousand separate characters for ordinary printing, is commonly said to need ten years of a missionary's life to acquire it. "To learn Chinese," cried Dr. Milne, "is work for men with bodies of brass, lungs of steel, heads of oak, hands of spring steel, eyes of eagles, hearts of apostles, memories of angels, and lives of Methuselah."

IV. SOME MISTAKEN ASSUMPTIONS

1. Instability of Savage Languages

One might think that unwritten languages alter faster

*Now more than 1058.
[4] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[5] Pierson, *The Modern Missionary Century*, p. 104.

than written ones, or that the languages of savages are less stable than those of civilized man. Kroeber,[6] of the University of California, tells us that this is a reflection on our sense of superiority when we hold to such an opinion. He says there is no evidence to support it.

All languages, says Bloomfield,[7] were spoken through nearly all of their history by people who did not read or write; the languages of such peoples are just as stable, regular and rich as the languages of literate nations. A language is the same no matter what system of writing may be used to record it, just as a person is the same no matter how you take his picture.

2. Harshness of Speech

Kroeber[8] corrects the impression that it is more difficult to pronounce the speech of non-literary peoples, and that their speech is harsher than ours. This belief, he says, is purely subjective, and he gives some good reasons to support it.

3. Equivalents

In the preface to his New Testament, Dr. James Moffat[9] mentions the popular delusion that "every idea and word which exists, or has existed, for any nation, ancient or modern, must have a direct interchangeable equivalent in all other languages." No one, he states, who attempts to translate any part of the New Testament is likely to remain very long under such a delusion. He quotes de Quincy in his essay on Protestantism: "The great ideas of the Bible protect themselves.

[6] Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 134.
[7] Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 21.
[8] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[9] Moffat, *New Testament*, preface.

The heavenly truths, by their own imperishableness, defeat the mortality of languages, with which for a moment they are associated."

Quoting Faunce[10] again with regard to equivalents:

To translate from English into French or German is easy—although American students do not seem to think so—since every idea in English has its exact equivalent in European tongues. But when we attempt to translate into even the finest of non-Christian tongues, we face all the barriers created by an alien culture and a wholly different intellectual heritage. Often there are no equivalent words, because the idea we are trying to express has never entered the non-Christian mind. It is not easy to translate, "Behold the Lamb of God" to people that have never seen a lamb. To convey the Biblical symbolism of the vine and the palm and the dove, and to set forth the elaborate Jewish ritual in the dialects of the frozen north, is not a simple matter. To translate the gorgeous visions of Isaiah, the plain prose of the four Gospels, and the metaphysical arguments of the Pauline epistles, in which even the apostle Peter found "some things hard to be understood"—to do that, even in our English speech, is a task so stupendous that it has employed the energies of English scholars for the last four centuries. But to translate all this varied literature so as to make it intelligible and commanding to the mystical minds of India, and the practical minds of China, and the childish minds of the Congo Valley, is perhaps the greatest literary task known to history, and its virtual accomplishment is one of the great triumphs of human intelligence.

[11] It is not an exaggeration to say that no savage people exists having in its language words which can be regarded as the exact equivalents of our words, father, mother, brother, and sister, and reciprocally we have no words in our language which convey in any but the most imperfect measure the ideas which his words connote to the savage. This characteristic, which is obvious in such a matter as kinship, runs, though less conspicuously, through the whole of the departments of sociology and religion and is probably largely present even in the more material departments of the science.

[10] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
[11] *Notes and Queries*, p. 111.

4. Paucity of Words

Another common assumption is that savage languages are made up of only a few hundred words. "A language is to be considered as the collective brain of a nation. The vocabulary shows the richness of its ideas, the syntax how it works them. The savage is scarcely able to use more than twelve hundred words."[12]

It is true that primitive tongues are pitifully poor in abstract and religious terms, but I have found that they abound in words for the flora and fauna of their country, the different parts of the body, and for things that they can see and handle.

While one can usually get along with two or three hundred words in order to make one's needs known, it is far from true that the primitive tongue is made up of only that many. Kroeber[13] states that every existing language, no matter how backward its speakers are, possesses a vocabulary of at least five thousand words. He goes on to show that many reach 25,000 and 30,000 words.

5. Complexity of Savage Languages

One would think it natural that a language of few abstract or intellectual terms should have a grammar likewise rudimentary and simple. This is not always so, however. Lubbock:[14] "Nor must it by any means be supposed that complexity implies excellence, or even completeness, in a language. On the contrary, it often arises from a cumbersome mode of supplying some radical defect. . . . No doubt the complexity and apparent perfection of the grammar among very low races,

[12] "Language," *Encyclopedia Brit.* (1898).
[13] Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 116.
[14] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 420.

is at first sight very surprising; but we must remember that the language of children is more regular than ours. . . . The tendance of civilization is towards the simplification of grammatical forms."

Rev. Walter Post,[15] one of the modern pioneers of the Wissel Lakes in New Guinea, relates his difficulties with the Stone Age language of the recently discovered Kapaukus:

> Another hard nut to crack and one which presented a weighty problem was the language. We here encountered something entirely new to our experience. These people had never had any contact with the outside world before. So terrified and surprised were they when the first airplane came and the passengers had gone ashore, that they said, "These men came from heaven." Thus their language was proportionately new and foreign to us, even as we were to them. Getting the names of tangible objects and actions which could be demonstrated to them was not so hard, but to convey abstract ideas was another matter. Strange as it may seem, primitive languages are more complicated than modern ones. It was slow, painstaking work. We engaged native boys each day for an hour or two or three, as much as they could stand, plying them with questions until we struck a snag, and there were many of them. If we could get a new term that could express a spiritual idea, that often became the topic for the next Sunday's talk. Many Bible stories had to be eliminated because they contained important words and ideas which we could neither translate nor explain. It was often very trying, and we felt that the lack of response may not be attributed wholly to their materialism; there was also our inability to make the message clear that had to be considered. It took us about one and a half years to get the word for "believe" although from the very start we made many attempts. It took us a long time to learn that all pronouns are included in the verb and that a whole sentence is often expressed in one word.

Although Tylor[16] takes the evolutionary view of

[15] Post, *The Alliance Weekly* (March 11, 1944)
[16] Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (Vol. 1), p. 238.

human development we can agree with him regarding the complexity of primitive languages:

> The two great methods of naming thoughts and stating their relation to one another, viz., metaphor and syntax, belong to the infancy of human expression, and are as thoroughly at home in the language of savages as of philosophers. If it be argued that this similarity in principles of language is due to savage tribes having descended from higher culture, carrying down with them in their speech the relics of their former excellence, the answer is that linguistic expedients are actually worked out with as much originality, and more extensively if not more profitably, among savages than among cultured men.

Faunce, too, gives expression to this viewpoint:[17]

> Mr. Dan Crawford found verbs with no less than thirty-two tenses (several future tenses, e.g., I will come, I will come in a few minutes, I will come after many years, I will come if something occurs, etc.) and nouns with twelve genders (or genera, classes). Yet in this surprising tongue no word had ever been written until Mr. Crawford broke in, mastered its secret, and made it visible to all the world. The process by which he did this is appropriately called, "thinking black."

[17] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

CHAPTER FIVE

LANGUAGE—(PART TWO)

THE general task of language classification is not an easy one, nor has it been completed as yet. We leave for the philologists this difficult work, but we shall profit by their findings and perhaps learn to classify the languages and dialects with which we must come in contact in our work.

"Only the learned and experienced investigator," states Whitney,[1] "can be trusted to push the work of classification safely to its extreme limits; and the classification of all human tongues is only attainable by the labors of a great number of investigators, each learned in his own special department."

I. CLASSIFICATION

As there are three physical types of mankind, so, according to De Quatrefages[2] there are also three fundamental linguistic types. Kroeber[3] adds another group, the polysynthetic—an agglutinative language carried to a high pitch. Philologists usually classify languages into three main groups—

1. Monosyllabic or isolating languages. Spoken by about 450 millions in Asia.

2. Agglutinative or suffix languages. Spoken by about 217 millions inhabiting the larger portion of the surface of the globe.

3. Inflectional languages. Spoken by about 337 millions.

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[1] Whitney, *The Life and Growth of Language*, p. 174.
[2] De Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 440.
[3] Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 102.

It should not be difficult to determine whether a language is vario-tono or recto-tono. There are some recto-tono languages, as for instance the Pnong of Cambodia, that use stress in places which at first might be taken for a rising tone. Dr. Pike[4] has just written a splendid book on the subject of tone languages:

> The first problem which a student faces is to prove that a specific language is actually tonal. Then he must attempt to find the number, type, and system of tones, and finally to trace tone changes through lexicon, morphological form classes, and syntactic constructions.

Anyone using tone languages (vario-tono) would profit by a study of his book, especially those who are interested in hymnology and translating tonal words to fit the tunes. Dr. Pike mentions songs,[5] and how some languages have melodies which completely obliterate the speech tones. In the Annamese, it is very necessary to have the tones correspond to the melody, otherwise the people would not understand it.

It is interesting to note that the savages (Indonesians and Malayo-Polynesians) of French Indo-China[6] have languages purely recto-tono, while they are surrounded by vario-tono languages of the Thai, Lao, Annamese, Chinese, etc.

It is not always well to accept the word of philologists as final, unless in a general way. There is still some guessing, I fear.

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[4] Pike, *Tone Languages.*

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

[6] Most French authorities use Indonesian and Malayo-Polynesian to describe these savages. Some call them Austronesians or Austroloid. The Indonesians are called thus from the geographical standpoint, no doubt, and belong to the Mon-Khmer family. Then again Mon-Annam is used by W. W. Skeat, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* Vol. 2 (London, 1906), p. 439. There is need of a definite classification of these primitive people.

For instance, Kroeber[7] has a map which shows the language families of Asia. As regards French Indo-China he is not altogether correct. For a land that is a third larger than France, with 23 million inhabitants, it is deserving of more detailed handling. Kroeber has the section representing the Malayo-Polynesian languages (the Raday and the Jarai) placed too far south. The Cambodians (Mon-Khmers) are shown inhabiting the whole of Cochin China to the exclusion of the Annamese whose territory, according to him, stops at the border of Cochin China.

In reality the Cambodians who are found outside Cambodia live only in the provinces of Chaucoc and Travinh in small numbers in the north central part of Cochin China, and in the southern part of Siam bordering on Cambodia.

His treatment of the Annamese is not altogether satisfying. According to his map they inhabit a wide strip of land stretching from the China border south to the border of Cochin China. The territory of the Annamese is a very narrow, but extremely fertile, strip of land which skirts the South China Sea, not much wider than twenty miles but usually only five or ten, and it reaches and spreads out south to the delta of the Mekong and on to Camau, the very tip of the peninsula.

He makes no allowance for a vast tribal empire of savage tribes in the interior, whose territory stretches almost from Saigon on the south, hundreds of miles north in the mountains and high plateaus between the Mekong and the Annamitic Chain on the east. He may not be blamed for this, for little research has been

[7] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

done, and not until our Ethno-linguistical map was made was any precise information available.

Kroeber, with others, classes the Annamese language absolutely apart and by itself, and unrelated to any other. This seems curious to me, for while its origin is lost in the dark night of history, for many centuries it has been a Sinitic language, related to Chinese more than to any other.

No doubt LeFevre and other earlier philologists are responsible for some of these ideas regarding the Annamese, for he classified the Annamese (or Annamite as it is sometimes called) as a distinct language. It probably originated as such but no one knows how or whence.

[8]Annamite, the language of the eastern portion of Indo-China and of Tonquin, has borrowed considerably from the vocabulary of Southern China, and its written character, which is figurative and ideographic, is of Chinese origin, although much modified and developed. Its syntax corresponds to that of Chinese. . . . Six tones, acute, interrogative, ascending, descending, grave, equal, serve, as in Chinese, to differentiate words of which the sound would be absolutely the same, although the sense is different. But in spite of this indebtedness and the similarity of form, Annamite is a distinct language. The vocabulary, the monosyllables, which are proper to this language, are purely Annamitic, and in no sense Chinese.

The Annamese is totally unlike the Mon-Khmer tongues, and very few Annamese words have been borrowed by the former. The Annamese, on the other hand, have not borrowed from the Mon-Khmer languages, only from the Chinese.

It is evident that for many centuries the Annamese have been closely linked to the Chinese; governed by

[8] LeFevre, *Race and Language*, p. 83.

them—until the French took over late last century—and today this race of seventeen millions may surely be classed with the Sinitic peoples. French writers, who have no doubt studied the peoples of their colony more than any others, agree that it is difficult to make a precise classification.

[9]La Classification rationnelle des races et des peuples de l'Asie est encore à faire. Le groupement d'après les langues et les dialectes est trop arbitraire, tandis qu'une classification d'après les types physiques manque de données précises.

They also agree that the Annamese language has borrowed a great deal from the Chinese, and in one case count it as a dialect of the Chinese:

[10]L'annamite est une langue monosyllabique, comme le chinois, dont elle se distingue par sa phonétique et par son vocabulaire, mais non par sa construction. Elle a d'ailleurs emprunté au chinois un grand nombre de mots, de même que l'écriture annamite fut anciennement empruntie à la chine.

[11]"Annamite"—Langue parlée par les habitants de l'Annam; elle est monosyllabique et doit être considérée comme un dialecte tiré du chinois. Les Annamites se servent des caractères chinois pour la langue écrite; les langues des deux pays ne diffèrent que par la prononciation. Les Annamites ont même

[9] *La Grande Encyclopedie,* Tome Quatrieme, p. 119. Translation—The rational classification of the races and peoples of Asia has still to be made. Grouping according to the languages and dialects is too arbitrary, while a classification according to the physical types lacks precise results.

[10] *Larousse du XXe Siecle,* "Annamite." The Annamese is a monosyllabic language, like the Chinese, from which it is distinguished by its phonetics and by its vocabulary, but not by its construction. It has also borrowed from the Chinese a large number of words, even as Annamese writing was formerly borrowed from China.

[11] *La Grande Encyclopedie,* tome troisieme, "Annamite." "Annamite"—Language spoken by the inhabitants of Annam; it is monosyllabic and must be considered as a dialect taken from the Chinese. The Annamese use the Chinese characters for the written language; the languages of the two countries differ only in pronunciation. The Annamese have even borrowed from the Chinese their educational books, and it is in the works like the book of the three characters Tam tu kinh (Chinese: San tseu king) that the children learn the language

emprunté aux Chinois leurs livres d'éducation, et c'est dans des ouvrages comme le livre de trois caractères Tam tu kinh (chinois San tseu king) que les enfants apprennent la langue.

Whitney[12] also makes the mistake of not classifying the Annamese with the Chinese language:

"The various languages of farther India—as the Annamese or Cochin-Chinese, the Siamese and the Burmese, with the tongues of numerous other wilder and less important tribes and races—are sufficiently unlike to Chinese and to each other in material to pass for wholly unrelated."

Because these languages are uninflected he even thinks there is a strong indication of ultimate relationship between them. I grant that Siamese and Burmese are related, and that the wild tribes' languages are also, but to class Annamese, a purely vario-tono, Sinitic language, with these others, is to be ignorant of the facts.

Even the official Ethno-linguistical map of French Indo-China, published by the Government General, was far from accurate in some places.

Here is a chance for the missionary to contribute his findings to the common reservoir of scientific knowledge. When we were able, after twelve years' survey, to make an ethno-linguistical map of the territory inhabited by the savage tribes of French Indo-China, we found a real appreciation on the part of the officials and a consequent relaxing of the severe restrictions put upon our work among those people. We listed a hundred and fifty different tribes and dialects,[13] showing their filiations and territorial boundaries. There are

[12] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
[13] Smith, *The Blood Hunters*, appendix.

probably twenty or thirty more which we have not had time to visit in a vast area of practically unsubdued country. More will be said about maps later.

II. DIALECTIC VARIATION

What is a dialect? How do dialects originate? What is the difference between a dialect and a language? How can we classify dialects? Can we trace race-history through them?

These and other questions will soon present themselves, no doubt, to the missionary who finds himself in a great area of different tribes, dialects and languages.

1. What is a Dialect?

We are told in the dictionary that it is a language as modified by local peculiarities; a provincial mode of speech or pronunciation as different from a literary standard. Whitney[14] defines a dialect as:

> Any body of expressions used by a community, however limited and humble, for the purposes of communication and as the instrument of thought, is a language. On the other hand, there is no tongue in the world to which we should not with perfect freedom and perfect propriety apply the name of dialect, when considering it as one of a body of related forms of speech. . . . One man's speech is just as much a language as another man's; even the most cultivated tongue that exists is only the dialect of a certain class in a certain locality. . . English and Dutch and German and Swedish are dialects of Germanic speech. . . .

In the same chapter on dialectic variation, Whitney[15] shows how every individual speaks a language different from every other. He shows furthermore that every

[14] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
[15] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

class of people in the same language has its dialectic differences:

a. Determined by occupation—trade, profession. Such as the carpenter, physician, geologist, etc.

b. Determined by differences in grade of education. The highly cultivated have a diction which is not at the command of the vulgar; they have vocabularies and grammatical terms which never work their way down to the lower ranks.

c. Determined by differences of age. The nursery has its dialect, offensive to the ears of old bachelors; and older children have their language at least characterized by limited vocabulary. (We may add their special slang vocabulary, as well.)

> No one can define, in the proper sense of that term, a language; for it is a great concrete institution, a body of usages prevailing in a certain community, and it can only be shown and described. You have it in its dictionary, you have it in its grammar.[16]

Referring to savage languages, Whitney shows that all members of the same community stand substantially upon the same level. The discordances of class and occupation are at their lowest. They have the same knowledge, the same skill, the same habits; the collective wealth of thought and its expression is not too great for each person to grasp and wield the whole of it.

2. How do Dialects Originate?

Whenever a community of uniform speech breaks up, its speech breaks up also. Dialectic diversity is thus

[16] Whitney, ibid.

simply a consequence of the movements of the people. Without continued community it is not possible to have uniformity of speech.

[17]Dialectic resemblances point inevitably to an earlier unity of speech, and hence of community. The longer the separation that has produced the diversity, the greater its degree.

This is excellently demonstrated among the savages of French Indo-China. The Raday language as spoken in the center of the tribe is called the Kpă, or straight, true. A few miles away there is a different dialect, the Adham. Another, thirty miles north of the Adham, is the Hroe. As the spokes of a wheel, so the dialects radiate out from the center, differing as they are located farther from the Kpă, until, when two hundred miles are reached, there is such a difference as to make it extremely difficult to understand them.

The savage languages of French Indo-China are divided into two parts, the Indonesian (or Mon-Khmer) and the Malayo-Polynesian. The former are in the majority, and are divided into many scores of dialects. Running through most of them is the similarity of numbering. When practically all other similarities cease, one can tell that they belong to the same original stock by the way they count.

3. Classifying Dialects

The basis of language classification is the "linguistic family." By comparing different languages and dialects we can arrive at their relationship, but it is not always easy. This is an important undertaking for the missionary. It is a common fault to say there are many

[17] "Language," *Encyclopedia Brit.* (1898).

languages in a country, when in reality there are only a few language families, with many dialects.

[18]Family signifies a group of languages descended from one original tongue. To complete and perfect the work of classification by relationship, or the establishment of families and their sub-divisions, is the first object of the comparative study of language.

The missionary must know how to select the main linguistic families in order to concentrate his efforts on the most widespread and the most important. It is very difficult to decide the affinities of the various dialects. How can we find out whether two languages have sprung from the same source? A few borrowed or imported words, or a few co-incidentally similar words will not be sufficient evidence. There must be a good number of words and grammatical forms that are similar before we can say they are related. In the jungles of French Indo-China the multiplicity of languages and dialects made it difficult to decide upon their relationships.

The difficulties involved in making a survey and map are numerous. With so little accurate information available, it has meant visiting many districts and many administrators, and the interviewing of countless natives. Of the fourteen provinces that I have visited, two of them, Haut Donnai and Kontum, had maps that were more or less accurate and showed the tribes in their proper locations. . . . One great difficulty in classifying the tribes is the number of different names by which they are known. They have their own tribal name which they employ among themselves. Their

[15] "Language," *Encyclopedia Brit.* (1898).

near neighbors often call them by another name, and distant tribes have still another appellation.

Difficulties arose, also, owing to the great number of sub-tribes and dialects of main language groups. Some main tribal languages may be understood by others belonging to another main tribal group, owing to their proximity to each other. Many tribes are "métis" (half breed) due to intermarriage, incorporating customs, modes of living and forms of speech from either of their parent tribes. In these cases it is possible frequently to approach the métis tribes through either of the two main languages from which the métis tribes are offspring.

In the Stieng language of northern Cochin China I found eight percent of the words resembled Cambodian. Among several other tribal languages of French Indo-China there were many Cambodian words also. Some, no doubt, were imported, but such a high percentage would show a common origin with Cambodian.

The origin of the Cambodian language is not solved to my satisfaction yet. LeFevre[19] counted it as unclassed in his day. I am inclined to think that the Cambodians, descendants of the once powerful Khmers,[20] arrived in the Indo-China Peninsula long after the savages (autochthons), and by intermingling left their impress which lasts until today. The carvings on Angkor Wat show the apsaras or tevadas (mythical angels) with greatly stretched ear-lobes and a loin-cloth covering much like the present day savages wear. It is more

[19] LeFevre, *Race and Language.*

[20] Quarritch-Wales, *Towards Angkor,* tells of their probable migration from India across the Malay Peninsula.

probable that these were copied from the savages than vice versa.

The authors of a Cambodian Grammar[21] regard the Cambodian language as having a double origin:

Le Cambodgien reconnait visiblement une double origine:

(A) L'une populaire, autochtone, qui l'apparente aux differents idiomes de l'Extrême Orient meridional en général, ét des sauvages negritos* du sud de l'indochine en particulier, et a qui il doit, en dehors d'une quantité de mots concrets, le génie propre de sa phrase, de sa construction, la plupart de ses idiotismes, et notamment l'allitération phonétique de ses mots doubles, fréquentatifs, étc.

(B) L'autre hindoue (sanscrite et palie), qui évoque les civilisateurs d'Angkor, et plus près de nous, atteste l'impreinte bouddhiste. C'est à cette origine que la langue cambodgiènne doit, non seulement ses termes élévés, abstraits, son vocabulaire religieux, mais aussi beaucoup de mots concrets devenus vulgaires, soit par leur ancienneté même, soit par la pénétration intime du bouddhisme dans la vie populaire.

We are warned not to be too hasty in deciding upon the kinship of languages:[22]

In general, students who deal with slightly-known languages have a weakness for setting up relationship on insufficient evidence. The less known the language and the less expert

[21] Pannétier et Ménétrier, *Éléments de Grammaire Cambodgienne Appliquée.* Translation—Cambodian recognizes a double origin:
(A) The one, popular, autochton, which relates it to the different idioms of the middle and general Far East, and to the negrito* savages of the south of Indo-China in particular, and to whom they owe, outside of a quantity of concrete words, the genius of its sentence, of its construction, most of its idiomatic expressions, and notably the phonetic alliteration of its double words, frequentatives, etc.
(B) The other, Hindu (Sanscrit and Pali) which brings to mind the civilizers of Angkor, and, nearer to us, attests the Buddhistic imprint. It is to this origin that the Cambodian language owes, not only its elevated terms, abstracts, its religious vocabulary, but also many concrete words which have become common, either by their age even, or by the intimate penetration of Buddhism into the popular life.

* The Savages of French Indo-China are not negritos. G.H.S.

[22] Bloomfield, *Language,* p. 57.

the student, the greater is the danger of his making false assumptions of kinship. . . . Even the most positive announcements often turn out, upon examination, to be based upon insufficient evidence.

4. Can We Trace Race-History Through Language?

How can we know the history of a people that are unlettered, having absolutely no monument or record of the past? Their legends no doubt are filled with myths. Tylor[23] mentions the part played by myths in the conclusion to his work on primitive culture:

It gives no unimportant clues to the student of mental history, to see by what regular processes myths are generated, and how, growing by wear and increasing in value at second-hand, they pass into pseudo-historic legend. . . . One of the most prominent faults of historians is that, through want of familiarity with the principles of myth-development, they cannot apply systematically to ancient legend the appropriate tests for separating chronicle from myth, but with few exceptions are apt to treat the mingled mass of tradition partly with undiscriminating credulity and partly with undiscriminating scepticism.

The writer on language in the *Encyclopedia Brittannica*[24] states:

If language-history were limited to growth and divarication, and race-history to spread and dispersion, it would be a comparatively easy task to trace both backward toward their origin. As the case is, the confusion is inextricable and hopeless.

Whitney,[25] basing his argument upon the doctrine of the plurality of the human species, says:

It is impossible that linguistic science should ever be able to prove, by the evidence of community of the first germs of

[23] Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (Vol. 2), p. 446.
[24] "Language," *Encyclopedia Brit.* (1898).
[25] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

expression, that the human race in the beginning formed one society together. Even if the number be reduced to one. . . . But it is even far more demonstrable that linguistic science can never prove the variety of human races and origins. . . . There are no limits to the diversity which may arise by discordant growth between languages originally one. . . .

It still remains true that, upon the whole, language is determined by race, since each human being usually learns to speak from his parents and others of the same blood. And the marked exceptions to this rule take place in the full light of historical record. . . . If one barbarous tribe overcomes another, unless the conquerors absorb the conquered into their own community, there is not usually a change of speech.[26]

When the ethnological relations of a community or of a group of communities are to be settled, the first question is as to the affinities of its speech.[27]

The question of the history of primitive peoples is usually a most difficult one. We are reminded by Lowie[28] that "to put it tersely, whatever else the investigator of civilization may do, he *must* be an historian."

That is all very well if there is any way a people's history may be known. There is nothing more fascinating, perhaps, than going back over the years and centuries of a people's past, but how, I would ask, can this be possible if there is no written account, no verbal record, nor any ancient monument that will give us any clues?

The few legends and stories known to present day savages in Indo-China may be greatly changed as they have been passed on from father or mother to their children. When they build with perishable materials and move their villages about the country every few

[26] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
[27] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
[28] Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 4.

years, how can any definite knowledge of their history be acquired? We do know that the Chams, a strong Malay civilization, invaded the highlands and left behind some relics of pagodas and brick fortifications, but they were driven out entirely. Apart from the fact that the Radays still chant their legends about the visit of the Chams to their longhouses, there is no way of finding out the history of the savages.

I believe that a knowledge of a people's history will be of great value to the missionary, if it is possible to learn of it.

III. NATURE OF LANGUAGE

De Quatrefages, the eminent French authority, has this to say regarding language being a character of the human race:[29]

> Human language is essentially variable, is subject to modification from one generation to another; it is subject to transformation; it borrows and loses; it may be replaced by another; it is evidently subordinate to the intelligence and to the conditions of life. We can only, therefore, regard it as a secondary character.

"No language," writes the author of the article on language in the Encyclopedia Brittanica,[30] "is a proof of race characteristic, determined by the special endowments of a race. All languages are parallel products of powers common to all mankind. Language is never a proof of race, only a probable indication."

Man is born with the faculty of speech, but he must learn how to speak. It is an interesting study to trace the progress of human speech, and many eminent

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[29] De Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 439.
[30] "Language," *Encyclopedia Brit.* (1898).

authorities have done so. Dr. E. B. Tylor[31] gives two large chapters to the subject of emotional and imitative language. Sir John Lubbock[32] goes into detail on the subject of onomatopoeia (as also Whitney[33]) and he records many deficiencies in savage languages.

Whitney adds[34] that language "is not a faculty—a capacity; it is not an immediate exertion of the thinking power; it is a mediate product and an instrumentality."

[31] Tylor, *Primitive Culture.*
[32] Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilization.*
[33] Whitney, *Life and Growth of Language.*
[34] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 278

CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE—(PART THREE)

WHEN a missionary finds himself located in the midst of a savage country with the task of mastering an unwritten language, the difficulties seem insurmountable. While working among the Cambodians along the Mekong River, we found ourselves on the fringe of the savages' country. The challenge of these untouched tribes in the interior presented the need of reducing their languages to writing. How should we go about it? Except for a course in phonetics, we were unprepared to properly undertake the work. Had we studied anthropology and especially linguistics, the task would have been much easier. As it was, we were obliged to attack the problem rather clumsily.

I. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

We found an absence of abstract terms, a nearly total absence of religious words, or words that would fit our religious ideas. Since their religion consists of animal sacrifice and calling upon the spirits, there was no thought of worship, no idea of a Supreme Being* as we know God, no way of expressing the wonderful ideas of grace, repentance, forgiveness, salvation, etc. The grammar, we found, after analyzing hundreds of sentences, was very simple, and the words, except for some prefixes, were invariable. There was no article, no conjunction, no *if, and, though, because,* for they (the Pnongs) only spoke in simple assertions.

*This subject will be dealt with under Religion.

It was the paucity of words that made it difficult to express in their language the great thoughts of Scripture. "Wah," meaning good in Pnong, had to stand for any adjective implying advantage or worth, such as: holy, pure, benevolent, genuine, godly, gracious, kind, merciful, perfect, pious, pleasant, precious, profitable, proper, righteous, serviceable, sound, valuable, virtuous, etc. When we reached the Radays, we found a slightly richer language, no doubt on account of the Malay influence.

The Pnongs, on the other hand, had many different words for carry, each describing the mode of carrying: in the hand, in the arms, on the shoulder, on a pole on the shoulder, on a pole between two people, on the head, in a basket on the back, in a blanket on the back, etc.

The inclusive and exclusive "we," found in many Polynesian languages, was also present in the Raday, a Malayo-Polynesian language, but not in the Cambodian or other Indonesian languages. When one speaks of his group, to the exclusion of the outsider spoken to, the exclusive we, "hmei" is used. When the outsider is included in the group, the inclusive we, "drei" is used. We found it difficult to know when our Lord used the we to include His disciples, Himself alone, or Himself with the Godhead.

In the Pnong language, the word love was simply to desire, to want, having a carnal meaning. We could not find a word to express affection. The Radays had a word for love and affection.

It is far easier to explain how an automobile works, and even to teach Pnongs to run one, than to explain grace, faith, atonement, eternal life.

William Carey described in 1796 the obstacles he found in the Bengali tongue:[1]

> Now I must mention some of the difficulties under which we labor, particularly myself. . . . Though the language is rich, beautiful and expressive, yet the poor people whose whole concern has been to get a little rice to satisfy their wants . . . have scarcely a word in use about religion. They have no word for love, for repent, and a thousand other things, and every idea is expressed either by quaint phrases or tedious circumlocutions. . . . This sometimes discourages me much.

Rev. E. H. Richards, who invented a written language for certain tribes in the Province of Mozambique, writes:[2]

> These people had never heard of ink until we brought it to them. There was no history, no book, no dictionary, no alphabet, not a single idea as to how thought and words could be transferred to paper. . . . They could not tell what paper was, but called it a leaf, the same as the leaf on a tree.

It is not always easy to obtain in the beginning a proper record of a language. Bloomfield states this difficulty as follows:[3]

> Diffidence as to one's speech is an almost universal trait. The observer who sets out to study a strange language or a local dialect, often gets data from his informants only to find them using entirely different forms when they speak among themselves. They count these latter forms inferior and are ashamed to give them to the observer. An observer may thus record a language entirely unrelated to the one he is looking for.

We found also that natives, trying to speak slowly and distinctly for you, often pronounced words differently than when they spoke fast and colloquially. Sometimes members of the same family would pronounce

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[1] Smith, *Life of William Carey*, p. 87.
[2] Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress* (Vol. 3), p. 419.
[3] Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 497.

words differently. This looseness of speech makes it very difficult to arrive at definite conclusions.

[4]But if these barriers are encountered in the most highly developed languages of the Orient, what may the missionary expect in trying to break his way into the dialect of barbarous or savage tribes? Some of those dialects are, like the one of which Charles Darwin speaks: "Language of clicks and grunts and squeaks and hiccoughs." The English alphabet is altogether incapable of representing such sounds, and the English-speaking throat cannot undergo the convulsions required for uttering them. Aspirates and gutturals and nameless consonants, deprived of all vowels, crowd the sentence.

The pioneer missionary must start with: "What is this? What is that?" Then with the slender apparatus of twenty-six English letters (or others he may invent) he must put down these sounds on paper. Then from the simplest roots, full of material meaning, he must, with new endings, or by new combinations, build up words to express "God is Spirit," "Keep thyself pure," "I give unto them eternal life." The process is like trying to paint a sunrise with lumps of clay.

The apostle Paul found the marvelous resources of the Greek tongue altogether inadequate for "my gospel," and was obliged to pour new meaning into "eternity." Thanks to the general diffusion of the Greek tongue, he never attempted to translate his message to barbarians of Malta or the mountain tribes of Asia Minor. Through one language he reached the world he knew, while his successors must reach the world we know through hundreds of dialects and languages. Surely it has been the task of the missionary "to undo the curse of Babel and carry out the blessing of Pentecost."

II. LEARNING A LANGUAGE

For learning a language, I would offer the following suggestions:

1. Use a card index for words, expressions, phonemes, etc.
2. Get the best interpreter or informant possible, speaking the language to be studied, and the language being used

[4] Faunce, *Social Aspects of Foreign Missions*, p. 107.

for communication. It is not always possible to combine all the desired features in one man, but an energetic man who knows how to solicit information and explain it to you is most valuable. It is best to use the same interpreter for as long as possible.

3. As soon as a certain proficiency is gained in the new language, the communicating language should be dropped, for ordinary conversation.
4. Use the words learned at once, and master them from the beginning.
5. It is better to listen to a word ten times before saying it yourself, than to pronounce it the first time you hear it. Listening is more important than speaking. Unless the sounds are visualized in one's mind, it is difficult to form them in the mouth. Practice unusual sounds over and over until mastered.
6. Ask for short sentences rather than words, associate rather than isolate.
7. Compare words and sounds that seem to be similar. By associating them, they can be easily learned.
8. Write out and memorize a story, then tell it over and over until it can be given fluently. Concentrate on this one story for a long while, then add to it.
9. Don't expect the informant to explain grammar or sentence structure. You must find that out for yourself. The morphologic and phonetic elements* must be recorded and then analyzed.
10. Always keep a translation of whatever is recorded of the language.

The most recent book on language, and one which is destined, no doubt, to become increasingly popular, is *The Loom of Language,* by Frederick Bodmer.[5]

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*See Bibliography for books on this subject used by the Wycliffe Translators, Inc.

[5] Bodmer, *The Loom of Language* (W. W. Norton and Co., N. Y., 1944), p. 692.

This book not only shows the origins of language in the past, its growth through history, but also its present use for communication between peoples. It shows, through basic vocabularies, family resemblances of languages—Teutonic, Romance, Greek—helpful tricks of translation, key combinations of roots and phonetic patterns. It demonstrates that it is as easy to learn several languages at once as it is to learn one; it condenses vocabulary to a minimum of essential words; it simplifies grammar in an entirely new way; and it teaches a language as it is actually used in everyday life rather than in the abstract manner of textbooks.

I quote here a number of extracts from pages 5 to 7:

According to the standards of educated adults, very few adolescents can speak and write the home language with fluency and grammatical precision before eighteen years of age. To be able to speak more than two new languages without any trace of foreign accent or idiom is a lifework.

It is a common belief that learning two languages calls for twice as much effort as learning one. This may be roughly true, if the two languages are not more alike than French and German, and if the beginner's aim is to speak either like a native. If they belong to the same family, and if the beginner has a more modest end in view, it is not true. Many people will find that the effort spent on building up a small, workmanlike vocabulary and getting a grasp of essential grammatical peculiarities of four closely related languages is not much greater than the effort spent on getting an equivalent knowledge of one alone. The reason for this is obvious if we approach learning languages as a problem of applied biology. The ease with which we remember things depends on being able to associate one thing with another. In many branches of knowledge, a little learning is a *difficult* thing.

Most people who find it difficult to learn a foreign language can relieve themselves of some of their difficulties, if they start with a little knowledge of how languages have evolved.

A basic vocabulary of seventeen hundred native words is abundant for ordinary conversation and intelligent discussion of serious subjects in any European language.

On page 30 another helpful word is found:

Many difficulties which beset the beginner are due to the fact that few of us are alert to tricks of expression *peculiar to our own language*. In fact we need to know something about the language we habitually speak before we can learn another one with the minimum of effort.

III. RECORDING A LANGUAGE

Many systems of phonetic alphabets have been devised. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has made and published an alphabet for phonemic transcription. This will no doubt be adaptable to certain situations, and serve as a foundation upon which to build an alphabet to suit the circumstances.

It is not always possible to employ one's favorite system because the governing authorities may not approve of it. In French Indo-China a commission was formed to submit a phonetic alphabet to be used among all of the scores of savage tribes if and when their dialects were to be reduced to writing. This alphabet, a combination of French, Czech and other characters and sounds was made official. Much as the missionaries desired changes—although some suggestions were incorporated in the alphabet—they were obliged to abide by the official system. To its credit, it might be said that the number of diacritical signs has been kept to a minimum and ordinary, easily-read roman letters were used. With only three or four slight changes in my typewriter, which has a French keyboard, it is possible to write this alphabet without any difficulty just as

quickly as in English or in French. I found this invaluable in doing translation work, saving much time instead of writing in long hand and filling in a lot of diacritical marks afterwards. I could type as the work progressed. My aversion to using the official system was overcome at last.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TRANSLATING INTO PRIMITIVE LANGUAGES

WHAT has translation work to do with anthropology? Strictly speaking, nothing. Anthropology is a search for information and an investigation to determine facts. Since the missionary goes far beyond the mere scientific accumulation of material by trying to ameliorate and improve existing conditions, it may not be amiss to speak here of translation work.

I. IMPORTANCE OF TRANSLATION

While studying a primitive language the missionary endeavors to reduce it to writing and leave a lasting source of spiritual benefit. While studying the religious beliefs of his people, the missionary uses his knowledge to impart spiritual truth as it is in Jesus Christ. Language and religion bring forth, in the missionary realm, the written Word of God. It is the outcome of the scientific study of language and religion, and the Word of God cannot be given to a people without such a study. So in order to be a good translator as well as a good evangelist or teacher, the missionary needs a basic training in language and religion from the anthropological standpoint. They are all linked inseparably together.

[1]There is no way of studying the radical tendencies and abiding traits of a people like the study of their language; for that not only reflects the fleeting thoughts of individuals, but

[1] *Missions and Science*, p. 185.

photographs the characteristics of the race, especially those forces that have most profoundly impressed them; and of these none is so all-controlling as religion. Nothing, then, so molds language as religion, and nothing so expresses the religion of a people as their language. As the fossils of a country record the forms of life that have existed in it, so does its language record every influence that in succession has entered into the character of a nation. It can make the generations that have spoken it pass before us, with their deepest feelings and controlling thoughts laid open to our view.

II. TRANSLATING SCRIPTURES A GREAT TASK

Very few people have any idea of the magnitude of the task of translating the Scriptures into a foreign tongue. We have already taken up the subject of equivalents and paucity of words in Chapter Four. The following from the pen of the venerable missionary, Dr. E. Riggs, of Constantinople, in 1880, will help answer the question, "Why does a missionary require eight or ten years, at least, to complete a translation of the Bible in a foreign language?"[2] Let the candid friends of the Bible consider:

First. The amount of matter contained in the volume. Let him count the number of words on a page, multiply it by the number of pages, and then compare the amount with that found in ordinary volumes, and he will find that he has in the Bible a library rather than a single volume.

Second. The conscientious translator cannot give a hasty or superficial rendering, or one in accordance with the views of any commentator, unless, after thorough investigation, he has made them his own. Few form an idea of the work of thoroughly mastering any document in a dead language.

Third. The translator of the Bible must not only be master of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek, but also of the language into which he translates. Is it said he should have this knowledge before he begins? I reply that, however thorough that previous

[2] Laurie, Dr. Thos., *Missions and Science (Ely Volume,* 1885), p. 246.

knowledge may be, experience will soon show him that in the field of every language are *terrae incognitae* which he must explore and map out before he can go on with confidence; e.g., names of trees, plants, animals, and gems may be little regarded by common readers, yet the translator cannot neglect them, and must bestow much labor to form a decided judgment as to the meaning of the original words, and then of the right terms to express that meaning in his translation. So of the orthography of proper names. It would be a blemish if the same name were spelled in four or five different ways; yet this is true of our own justly esteemed English version. To secure the right spelling of proper names, a complete list should be made out and be at hand for reference. The Old Testament contains more than twenty-six hundred such names.

Fourth. If one knows a foreign language, let him try the experiment of translating the amount of a page in the Bible from that language, or from English into it. Then, after some days, let him carefully revise it, or get another familiar with both languages to look it over with him, so as to secure accuracy. Now let him multiply this by the number of pages in the Bible, and he will know something of the time needed for such a work.

Fifth. Sometimes the strange language has not been previously used for the expression of Christian ideas. In this case it is hard to set a limit to the labor, investigation, and care needful to secure the right terms for these ideas, and avoid those that would be misleading and injurious.

. . . While at the Reformation, and afterwards, learned men in Europe rendered it into their own languages that they had used from childhood, our missionaries are called to transfer it into a language that they never knew till they had reached adult years, and in some cases had not even an alphabet till they gave it one. Then the very words of a language are so contaminated by heathenism that it is exceedingly difficult to find terms for Christian ideas.

At the risk of criticism for quoting at such length, I wish to add another paragraph or two from this enlightening letter:

"Then every translator has his own peculiar difficulties. Read Dr. Van Dyck's account of the labor attending his translation of the Old Testament:

[3]In the first place it must be carefully made from the Hebrew; then compared with the Syriac version of the Maronites, and the Septuagint of the Greeks; the various readings given, and in difficult places the Chaldee Targums must be consulted, and hosts of German commentators; so that the eye is constantly glancing from one set of characters to another; then, after the sheet is in type, thirty copies are struck off and sent to scholars in Syria, Egypt, and even Germany. These all come back with notes and suggestions, every one of which must be well weighed. Thus a critic, by one dash of his pen, may cause me a day's labor; and not till all is set right can the sheet be printed."

Although the book, *Missions and Science,* abounds in such testimonies, one or two more must suffice:[4]

Rev. D. C. Greene says: "We have been surprised to find that the Gospel of John is one of the most difficult books in the New Testament to render into Japanese. It abounds in passages which, while they seem natural enough in Greek or English, would, translated literally, almost destroy the connection of thought. Even the long involved sentences of Paul are often easier to manage than the seemingly simple statements of John."

Then the want of a native literature increases the difficulty of translation. They have no literary standard by which we may measure the adaptation of our work to meet their wants.

III. DIFFICULTIES

The missionary to savage tribes has difficulties of his own. He may be the only one speaking the language and cannot call upon others for help. Since Dr. Riggs' day practically all of the main written languages of the

[3] *Bible Society Record,* (1862), p. 147.
[4] *Missions and Science,* p. 248.

world have been included in the work of the Bible Societies and the Scriptures have been translated into them. The greatest need now for translation work is naturally among the unlettered lower races, of which many hundreds of languages still remain to be reduced to writing.

How does one go about translation work among primitive peoples? Are there any rules or suggestions? One would wish for an extensive work on this subject, for the Bible Societies have only meager material to offer the pioneer missionary. They have certain rules and regulations regarding the publishing of the Scriptures under their auspices, and a few helps.

IV. QUALIFICATIONS

Dr. Riggs assumed that the translator would be well qualified by his thorough knowledge of Greek and Hebrew and Chaldee to undertake the task of translating the Scriptures. There is no doubt that such a knowledge would be of inestimable value, but very few missionaries are so endowed—especially the pioneer missionary among savages. He cannot specialize on translation work. He must be an all-around missionary—explorer, linguist, teacher, builder, evangelist and mechanic, with his time divided into many spheres of endeavor.

If we were to wait until every missionary were highly qualified according to Dr. Riggs' standards, I am afraid the evangelization of the last tribes of earth would be a very much slower process than it is.

For such as have had little academic training there are many excellent helps, sufficient, if properly used, to assure translations of the Scripture that will be owned

and blessed of God to the salvation of souls. *The Interlinear Greek New Testament, A Critical Lexicon and Concordance to the English and Greek N. T.,* and *Word Studies* by Vincent will give sufficient shades of meaning of obscure words and passages to enable the translator to get to the bottom of the idea, the basic thought and meaning. We shall not be able to translate literally, as we have already seen, owing to the paucity of words. We must paraphrase at times.

Weymouth's New Testament is an excellent guide to modern punctuation and paragraphing. We found that savages could read more easily if such were employed, and all conversation enclosed in quotation marks. The lines should be spaced wide apart.

Should one wait until he is perfect in the language before he begins translating the Scriptures? I do not think so. I believe we should begin as soon as possible, and even though we may make many mistakes, that is the quickest way to discover them and profit by them. The Word of God, although clothed in the stilted and barbarous tongues of primitive people, is still the living Word, if we have been faithful in following the true meaning of the text, and especially if we have leaned wholly upon the Lord for His wisdom and guidance. I believe the Lord will take the queer-sounding paraphrases which sometimes have to stand for some of the great ideas of our faith, and the circumlocutions and idioms we are obliged to use, and by His Spirit drive the truth home, if the underlying thought is there. We are not to translate according to our pet doctrines, but according to the true meaning as set forth in the original and given to us by so many able translators and commentators in our own language. We cannot make a better translation than the great

scholars who have spent their lives doing so, but we can profit by their knowledge.

When it comes to translating hymns, there is much more leeway, for there is not the same need for a literal translation. The paucity of words at our disposal means much repetition, and rhyme often gives place to simple euphony instead. It is important to establish the proper rhythm, and the less complicated the better. Savages like repetitious songs and one soon learns which kind of tunes they like best.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RELIGION

In his training, the missionary specializes in theology. He usually takes a course in comparative religion as well. Is that not sufficient? What more should he know about religion? What about primitive religions? One of the first questions he will have to answer is whether his tribe has a religion or not, and if so, what kind it is.

He must know, therefore, what religion is, and what the current definitions of religion are. He must know how to distinguish between religion and superstition. He should know how to properly observe and record his people's religion and what his attitude should be toward their rites and beliefs. To be able to do this he must have a thorough preparation in the study of primitive religions.

I thought at first the Pnongs of Cambodia had no religion. At least they did not possess any idea of a Supreme Being as I knew Him. The only information on the subject I could elicit from them was of some mythical being named N'Du Chiang who lived in the skies. There was no further information given, and I could not find out whether they regarded him as beneficent and powerful, or the reverse. They did not seem to know. "He never bothers with us, we never bother with him," they told me.

I. DEFINITION OF RELIGION

The missionary naturally regards religion as a system of worship of the Deity, but savage religions fall far below that standard. Anthropologists now give a broad meaning to the definition of religion. Some meanings are vague and theoretical, others lengthy and involved.

Dr. Tylor reduced the definition to a minimum with his, "A belief in spiritual beings."[1] This has not been satisfactory as the knowledge of the subject has increased since his day. Dr. James Orr's definition may be found in the glossary, and this is used by Dr. Lowman of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles in her book, *Non-Christian Religions, a Comparative Study.*

It is very necessary to have a definition of religion, otherwise one's findings may be in error. I quote here one or two more definitions:

[2]A belief in beings superior to man and capable of exercising a good or evil influence upon his destiny; and the conviction that the existence of man is not limited to the present life, but that there remains for him a future beyond the grave. Every people, every man, believing these two things is religious.

This writer thinks it is possible to recognize as true divinities beings who receive a tribute of affection or terror, homage or prayers, on the part of the populations who either fear or trust in them.

The Desk Standard Dictionary defines religion as "any system of faith and worship, a belief binding the spiritual nature of man to a supernatural being, an essential part or a practical test of the spiritual life."

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[1] Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture* (Vol. 1), p. 428.
[2] De Quatrefages, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

Réclus said that religion is the feeling which falls upon a man in the presence of the unknown. Man personifies the unknown, and that personification he seeks to propitiate.

For the best definition of religion yet made, we turn to Father Schmidt who says:[3]

> Religion may be defined both subjectively and objectively. Subjectively, it is the knowledge and consciousness of dependence upon one or more transcendental, personal powers, to which man stands in a reciprocal relation. Objectively, it is the sum of the outward actions in which it is expressed and made manifest, as prayer, sacrifice, sacraments, liturgy, ascetic practices, ethical prescriptions, and so on.

Much of the controversy among scientists regarding religion is caused by the lack of uniformity of definition. It is interesting to see how the tendency through the years since Tylor has been to broaden the scope and give an increasingly wider significance to the word "religious."

Notes and Queries on Anthropology,[4] which has been a very practical help in this study already, shows how the definition of religion began with the theological idea of the worship of a Supreme Being. The early investigators quickly concluded that many peoples had no religion at all.

Then they based their descriptions on the theory of Fetichism as primitive religion. Dr. E. B. Tylor's "minimum definition of religion" broadened the scope and then animism was coined and adopted as the theory.

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[3] Schmidt, Wilhelm, *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (Dial Press, 1931), p. 2.

[4] *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, p. 247.

[5]Almost all subsequent work on savage religion has been consciously or unconsciously related to Dr. Tylor's great hypothesis. For many years the method of English anthropology was the Tylorian method—initiated, extended, and often exaggerated: a general scheme of savage beliefs and rites was built up, from examples collected in all parts of the world, and "laws" of "primitive logic," deduced from these examples, were formulated and analyzed to account for them. Much of this schematic work aimed at establishing a distinction between "magic" and "religion."

Later the existence of totemism in many savage races gave rise to the assumption that it was one of the early stages in the history of religions. Pre-animistic religion came next, as the scope of religion widened to include states of mind and modes of behavior which fall outside the minimum definition of Dr. Tylor. Stress was laid upon the emotions of awe, wonder, and fear, which seem to lie on the threshold of religion, rather than on the intellectual ideas involved in savage beliefs.

[6]Many uncivilized peoples (so, at least, it appears) attribute personality not only to human beings and to animals, but to all those natural phenomena which attract attention and make a distinct impression on the mind; and these ideas result in practices which must be classed as religious. This aspect of savage thought . . . has lately been distinguished from Animism as Animatism. These observations on primitive ideas of personality led to the recognition of a whole class of words actually to be found in the languages of the uncivilized, denoting those impressive, mysterious, effective, or "sacred" qualities, in virtue of which men, animals, and things attract attention, evoke awe and wonder, and influence their surroundings. Of these the Polynesian-Melanesian word Mana has become almost a technical term in European anthropology.

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[5] *Notes and Queries*, p. 248.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 250.

II. UNIVERSALITY OF RELIGION

Are there any tribes without a religion? The controversy over this question has probably died down now that religion has been defined in broader terms than previously. Lubbock[7] gives many instances of the absence of religion among some primitive races, and concludes:

> If most travellers have expected to find a religion everywhere, and have been convinced, almost against their will, that the reverse is the case, it is quite possible that there may have been others who have too hastily denied the existence of a religion among the tribes they visited. However this may be, those who assert that even the lowest savages believe in a Supreme Deity, affirm that which is entirely contrary to the evidence. The direct testimony of travellers on this point is indirectly corroborated by their other statements. How, for instance, can a people who are unable to count their own fingers, possibly raise their mind so far as to admit even the rudiments of a religion? Fetich worship can hardly be called a religion.

Brinton,[8] after showing the difficulties of obtaining correct information from the natives, and how easily we come away with erroneous ideas, says: "Religion, therefore, is and has been, so far as history informs us, universal in the human race." Brinton holds a wide view of the definition:

> The principle at the basis of all religions and all superstitions is the same, and the grossest rites of barbarism deserve the name of "religion" just as much as the refined ceremonies of Christian churches. The aims of the worshipper may be selfish and sensuous, there may be an entire absence of ethical intention, his rites may be empty formalities and his creed immoral, but this will be his religion all the same, and we should not apply to it any other name.
>
> There is no one belief or set of beliefs which constitutes a religion. We are apt to suppose that every creed must teach

[7] Lubbock, *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 594.
[8] Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 33.

a belief in a god or gods, in an immortal soul, and in a divine government of the world. No mistake could be greater. . . . Some believe in souls, but not in gods; while a divine government is a thought rarely present in savage minds. They do not, as a rule, recognize any such principle as that of good and evil, or any doctrine of rewards and punishment hereafter for conduct in the present life.

Brinton shows how mistaken opinions are easily formed, even by missionaries. They recognize no god of the heathen as being a true god. They spurn all the myths, and the stories of magic and ghosts, and return with the tale that the people have no religion at all. He quotes the example of a missionary among the Motu tribe of New Guinea who denied that they had a religion, but proceeded to describe their numerous "superstitious" rites, their belief in spirits, their ceremonial law, etc.!

Another cause of error is the diffidence on the part of natives to permit foreigners to witness their ceremonies, or to know too much about their sacred mysteries. In some tribes it is tabu to talk to strangers about religious things, and dire penalties may be imposed on those who divulge the secrets of the cult. As mentioned earlier, I found the Pnongs loathe to continue with a sacrifice after my arrival, for fear, no doubt, that I might hinder the successful outcome.

Lubbock,[9] as we have seen, is opposed to the opinion that religion is general and universal. He agrees, however, that

The question as to the general existence of religion among men is, to a great extent, a matter of definition. If the mere sensation of fear, and the recognition that there are probably other beings more powerful than oneself, are sufficient alone to constitute a religion, then we must, I think, admit that religion is general to the human race. But when a child dreads

[9] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 212.

the darkness, and shrinks from a lightless room, we never regard that as an evidence of religion. Moreover, if this definition be adopted, we can no longer regard religion as peculiar to man. We must admit that the feeling of a dog or a horse to its master is of the same character; and the baying of a dog to the moon is as much an act of worship as some ceremonies which have been so described by travellers.

On the subject of the Deity, I quote at length from A. De Quatrefages,[10] who shows the difficulty of obtaining precise information:

A traveller who speaks the language of the country very badly interrogates a few individuals upon the Deity, future life, etc., and his interlocutors, not understanding him, make a few signs of doubt or denial, which have no reference to the question. The European in his turn mistakes their meaning. Having in the first instance merely regarded them as beings of the lowest type, incapable of any conception however trifling, he concludes without hesitation that these peoples have no idea either of God or of another life.

Should the traveller speak the language of the country with ease, he is still liable to fall into error. Religious belief forms part of the most hidden depths of our nature; the savage does not willingly expose his heart to a stranger whom he fears, whose superiority he feels and whom he has often seen ready to ignore or ridicule what he has always regarded as most worthy of veneration.

The lively faith of a missionary is again often the cause of error. Whatever the Christian communion may be to which he belongs, he generally arrives in the midst of the people whom he wishes to convert with a hatred of their objects of belief, which are to him works of the devil. Too often he neither seeks to account for them, nor even to become acquainted with them; his sole endeavor is to destroy them. . . . He expresses and publishes his ideas, and another name is added to the list of atheist populations. Among missionaries there are some who, more indulgent, because they are more enlightened, can recognize the religious conception, however

[10] De Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 473.

feeble it may be . . . and the result has been that Australians, Melanesians, Kaffirs . . . have been withdrawn from the list of atheist nations and recorded as *religious*.

Some feel that because the savage puts the unseen before the seen as his object of strictly practical attention, he is pre-eminently religious. He views everything from a religious standpoint—whether it be food or sculpture, or painting, or the study of plants and beasts, or the heavens.

De Quatrefages[11] does not agree with Lubbock that the Australians, for instance, do not believe in a god of any kind; that they never offer prayers; that they have no form of worship at all. He says we must always distinguish between religion and superstition. This is difficult because they are often fused into creeds of certain races so that the priest and the sorcerer are confounded in one person. He asks how the strangest superstitions came to be accepted in former times by all Christian sects and how it is that they still exist among us!

III. ATTITUDE TOWARD HEATHEN RELIGIONS

Scientists in anthropology usually regard the subject of religion from the standpoint of a clinical investigation, objectively and critically, not theologically. Some of them divide religions into lower, middle and higher classes, an evolutionary progression from earliest times until the present. The lower religions conceive the divine nature as power, the middle religions as justice and the higher religions as love. Christianity to them is the outgrowth and progression from the lower forms of religion to the highest, beginning with a sense of fear in earliest man.

[11] De Quartrefages, *op. cit.*, p. 495

Unable to discern spiritual things and without faith in Christ as the only Saviour, scientists are asking the missionary to be more tolerant and sympathetic with heathen religions. The modernist would have us mingle the eternal verities with whatever good may be found in heathenism, and instead of trying to do away with the latter, they would aid it to progress to higher levels. They see Christianity in the same cold light of science as they do animism and fetichism.

Nevertheless, the missionary should be tactful and sympathetic in his investigations of religion. It is hard not to condemn practices which appear to us to be absurd and even sinful. It is hard to stand by while the savages of French Indo-China cruelly torture animals in their sacrifices. I feel so aroused after witnessing the sufferings of a poor water-buffalo or a cow as its legs are first broken by a quick slash on the tendons above the knees on the hind legs, then as it is speared and hacked, that I cannot help denouncing the horrible practice. As these beasts linger for many minutes, sometimes half an hour, while swinging around the post to which they are tied in a vain effort to evade their attackers, their broken, bleeding legs a hideous sight and the blood gushing from their sides, it is all one can do to contain oneself. Should we blandly smile and say nothing? When we talk about sin, can we soft-pedal the immoralities which abound as a result of their religious beliefs? We are reminded[12] that it is essential there should be real sympathy with the people among whom we are working:

> Those of the lower culture are quick to recognize whether this sympathy is real or feigned, and in the latter case it is certain that the best kind of work will never be done. If a

[12] *Notes and Queries*, p. 125.

real sympathy is present, special rules will not be needed, but nevertheless one or two points may here be mentioned.

Whenever visiting sacred places, or when present at a ceremonial, take the utmost care not to do anything which may offend the religious susceptibilities of the people. It is best to make clear from the outset that you wish to respect all that they hold sacred. Without permission, you should not touch, photograph, or sketch anything which may possibly be sacred. It is better to be unnecessarily careful about this than to run the risk of upsetting the people by some act they regard as sacrilegious. . . . A real sympathy and interest will also naturally prevent any manifestation of amusement or disgust at the description of ridiculous or horrible features of the culture. Your witnesses will soon come to talk to you naturally and freely, and in a short time they will be telling you of practices which have perhaps remained absolutely unknown to people who have been living among them for years.

Here the writer on anthropology speaks especially to missionaries. We may not agree with all he says, but it is helpful nevertheless:

One difficult topic may be briefly considered here. It is hoped that this book will be largely used by *missionaries,* and it may seem to them impossible to adopt the attitude recommended in the last paragraph. In such matters each man must follow the path which seems to him right, but it may be pointed out that to the missionary a full knowledge of native modes of thought and action is of the greatest practical importance, and further, that such full knowledge will lead to the discovery that, behind customs which may be repugnant in many ways, there is much that is good and worthy of encouragement in the religion of those they call heathen.

One who is capable of sympathy with native modes of thought and can show it in his inquiries will find himself in a far stronger position to deal with the practical problems which come to him as a missionary, than one whose only idea is that of indiscriminate destruction. It is a fact that the best heathen makes the best Christian, and it is a great advantage to gain the ear of those who have a pious reverence for their own religion and its practices.

A missionary who studies the native religion sympathetically will not only discover the real nature of those he wishes to improve; he will not only reach the hearts of the best members of the community, but he will also find himself in a position to effect far more vital and fundamental reforms in the lives of the people than is possible to the unsympathetic, who will spend his life in the mere cultivation of the surface. To one who has not this sympathy at the outset all that can be recommended is impartial inquiry. With increasing knowledge the sympathy will come.

I agree that the missionary should exercise tact and sympathy when visiting shrines and temples, and during what we regard as religious ceremonies. In the savages' longhouses during their sacrifices, I always wait until the sorcerer has stopped mumbling his incantations before starting to preach, unless, as recorded elsewhere,[13] the chief tells me not to mind the old fellow but to go ahead and preach anyway.

Dr. Brown[14] goes into detail on this question of sympathy:

The missionary never makes a more lamentable mistake than when he sneers at the religious ceremonies of the people. Paul set a good example for every missionary in his tactful reference on Mars Hill to the religious beliefs of his hearers. . . . The foreigner often unconsciously offends the religious susceptibilities of the natives. He may excite the anger of a priest by tapping an idol with a cane. He may arouse a Moslem to murderous fury by entering a mosque without removing his shoes. In Siam, it is a standing grievance that travellers steal the images of Buddha from the temples. What would be thought of a visitor in a Christian land who should carry off a communion vessel as a souvenir? When the religious convictions of a Buddhist people forbid the taking of life, the foreigner who shoots pigeons from the trees of the temple precincts simply stamps himself as a ruffian in the estimation of the monks.

[13] Smith, *The Blood Hunters*, p. 97.
[14] Brown, Arthur J., *The Foreign Missionary*, p. 284.

Dr. Brown goes on to show that even if the missionary does succeed in destroying the native's confidence in his own faith, it does not follow that he has made him a Christian. "Compromise is fatal, but lack of knowledge and tact are almost equally so." He quotes the Hon. James Bryce on the necessity of studying the native religion as a wise preparation for successful missionary work: "Unless you try to understand men as religious beings, you do not get on from any other side at all. For there is the root of their life, the root of everybody's life. However debased his religion may be, you can only understand a man through his religious life and benefit him by giving him a right religious idea." Every ethnic faith, continues Dr. Brown, is rooted in some racial characteristic or some fundamental trait of the human mind, and the missionary who has to deal with that faith needs to understand the basis on which it rests. He will find that every one of these faiths has in it some good things. Let him frankly recognize them, and be able to understand why they have failed to work themselves out into character, and how they have come to be so entangled in error that they have become hindrances rather than helps to the moral uplifting of man.[15]

The anthropologist seeking information may appear to the natives to agree with their beliefs and ceremonies, if his only aim is scientific knowledge. He may partake of their feasts and drink their proffered alcohol and permit himself to become a blood brother of the tribe by the sacrifice of an animal to seal the pact. He may (as some investigators do) live among the people for some time, take to himself a native wife, and otherwise by

[15] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

going native make himself all things to all men for the sake of his calling. Not so the missionary. He must know how far to go in his investigations, without compromising his walk with God; how to win confidence without offending the savages' sense of hospitality and religious belief.

IV. RECORDING RELIGIOUS DATA

Missionaries have unusual facilities for learning the religious beliefs of the people among whom they labor. *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*[16] gives many suggestions for inquiry and observation: Rites and beliefs connected with all human life and endeavor, food, fire, manufactures, the dead, animals, plants, celestial objects, stones, strange things, accidents, sleep and many other aspects of the savages' existence.

"Magico-religious" may be a cumbrous phrase, but, according to the author of the article, it stands for an important working principle. This principle is that the distinction between magic and religion, about which the framers of general theory are in dispute, may be ignored for purposes of particular description.

> The best plan for the field-anthropologist is to put all facts that seem to him to have to do with magic, or with religion, or with what is partly the one and partly the other, into the same section of his note-book. . . . In seeking to investigate magico-religious facts, the ethnographer enters upon the most difficult of all of his tasks. The civilized man . . . is bound to find it extremely hard to get into touch with this utterly diffused and unorganized phase of savage experience.
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> With uncivilized man, the magico-religious side of everything is always uppermost. When he is hunting, or fighting, or marrying, he is intensely keen on what he is about. What

[16] *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, p. 251.

he is primarily about, however, is to control the process from first to last by magico-religious means, so as to be master of the luck all the time. Just as a dog lives in a world of smells that we cannot perceive, so the savage lives in a world of magico-religious influences and relations which we are apt to miss entirely. The reason is not merely that as a rule we cannot speak his language. The trouble rather is that a common measure of inward experience is so often wanting.

Most investigators must begin working from the outer manifestation toward the inward interest. The rites we witness must be immediately recorded, and attention paid to every detail: time, place, persons, clothing, things said and done, etc.

Beliefs at the back of the practices should be inquired into:

[17]The first thing to realize is that in a primitive society there is no such thing as a theology, or thought-out scheme of beliefs, at all. . . . The safe rule is never to ask "Why?" but only "What?". . . . The observer must specially beware of having palmed off on him the stock explanation (usually itself a traditional and settled affair) employed to satisfy outsiders.

Savages, we are told, do not necessarily think out their form of cult, but rather live it out, or, one might almost say, dance it out. The savage mind tends to apprehend (though not to comprehend or conceive) two things especially:[18]

Firstly, the rite as a whole is felt to be in some mystic way effective in bringing about important results. Secondly, all the agents, elements, aspects, functions, and accessories of the rite are felt to be in mystic communion with each other . . . civilized thought sees contradiction where the savage mind sees mystic equivalence.

It would be well for the missionary to study Dr.

[17] *Notes and Queries*, p. 255.
[18] *Notes and Queries*, p. 258.

Zwemer's book[19] on the origin of the idea of God, of the world and of man, of prayer and sacrifice, of fire-worship, marriage and primitive ethics, belief in immortality. There are too few books on the subject from the evangelical view-point. Dr. Lowman's book already mentioned[20] should also be invaluable as a comparative study.

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[19] Zwemer, Dr. S. W., *The Origin of Religion.*
[20] Lowman, Ione, *Non-Christian Religions, A Comparative Study.*

CHAPTER NINE

CHARACTER AND MORALS

RELIGION and language, the most important branches of anthropology to the missionary, have been dealt with at greater length than will be possible for some of the other aspects. Within the limitations of this work, the remaining subjects, important as they are, can only be mentioned in a very cursory way. A glance at the outline of anthropological subjects in chapter two will remind one of the dozens of different angles of inquiry open to the missionary.

I. MORALITY

It was quite a shock to us when we first realized how different the savages' conceptions of sin and wrong-doing were from our own.

"How many of you have no sin upon you?" we ask a heathen audience. All put up their hands. "You do not understand perhaps," we tell them. "Have you ever lied?" They all nod their heads, but when I tell them it is wrong they burst into laughter. The savage never thinks of telling the truth.

[1]I used to think the tribesmen did not lie nor steal. They do not steal very much, I admit, in comparison with other races, but I have come to the conclusion that they only speak the truth by accident. They say only that which will guard their own well-being, never thinking of telling the truth if it should hurt them.

[1] Smith, G. H., *The Blood Hunters,* p. 60.

When asked a question they invariably hesitate. They are wondering how their reply may affect you. If the news is unpleasant, you might be angry with him, so he may tell you anything but the truth.

[2]When asking a tribesman a question, one has to be very diplomatic about it, and must sometimes ask in a roundabout way. He will answer only what he thinks will please you. Why make you unhappy by telling the truth if it is unpleasant? Besides, he thinks, you might get angry at him for upsetting your peace of mind if he tells you the real facts.

"Have you ever stolen then?" we proceed again.

Some admit that they had, but are careful not to give away any incriminating information. They were not caught, that is the main thing.

"How about killing people, is that wrong?" we ask.

"The French say it is wrong, and our laws tell us not to kill people, but sometimes it is necessary," an old chief responds. "If we kill anybody we must pay a buffalo to the relatives, that's all," he adds.

This question of moral responsibility is a difficult one. There are differences of opinion about it. Every tribe has its own system of morals, very unlike ours, usually, based upon its own conception of right and wrong. The leading ideas to be borne in mind are especially the following:[3]

That every tribe makes a distinction between right and wrong, but hardly two tribes exactly agree on what acts are right and what wrong; in fact, there is hardly any act considered wicked and abominable by some men that is not somewhere or other looked upon as harmless or virtuous, e.g., infanticide, treachery, etc. Next, in all peoples, civilized or not,

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[2] Smith, G. H., Ibid.
[3] *Notes and Queries*, p. 175.

there exists an ideal high standard of morals, while public opinion tolerates or approves a lower practical standard; it is desirable to obtain a definition of both. Also the moral standard varies from age to age, as our own has changed in the last thousand years; all records of such variations are important. Lastly, the moral standard differs as between members of a family, members of a nation or tribe, or alliance, and aliens and enemies; among many nations it may be held right and even glorious to cheat, plunder, ill-use, or even murder a stranger or foreigner, or one of another religion, but wrong to act thus towards a kinsman, fellow-citizen, or co-religionist. . . .

Actual events, such as family quarrels, and concrete instances give the best opportunities for discovering the moral standard of the people.

[4]Take advantage of any events of social importance which happen during your stay. A thorough study of a concrete case in which social regulations have been broken may give more insight into the moral ideas of the people than a month of questioning about what they think right or wrong.

Again, nothing is more useful in acquiring a knowledge of the real working of the social regulations than the records of cases which are brought before the native tribunals. Accounts should be obtained with the fullest detail, and the whole history of such cases gone into as completely as possible.

Most authorities agree that there is no human society in which the idea of good and evil, such as they regard it, is not represented by certain acts recognized by the society as morally good or bad.

Lubbock states that the moral *sense* is wanting in the savage, but De Quatrefages takes issue and gives several reasons.[5] He goes on to show how the savage element is still present in most civilized nations:

Fundamentally, the white, even when civilized, from the moral point of view is scarcely better than the Negro, and

[4] *Notes and Queries*, p. 116.
[5] De Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 460.

too often, by his conduct in the midst of inferior races, has justified the argument opposed by a Malgache to a missionary:

"Your soldiers seduce our women . . . you come to rob us of our land, pillage the country, and make war against us, and you wish to force your God upon us, saying that He forbids robbery, pillage and war! Go, you are white upon one side and black upon the other."

Such is the criticism of the *savage;* the following is that of a European:

"The people are simple and confiding when we arrive, perfidious when we leave them. Once sober, brave and honest, we make them drunken, lazy and finally thieves. After having inoculated them with our vices, we employ these very vices as an argument for their destruction."

As for Africa, it seems to me that the two words, *trade* and *slavery,* are quite sufficient to prevent a European from boasting too loudly of the morality of his race. . . . The savage element still exists in most civilized nations.

De Quatrefages goes into the subject of morals at some length, and it would be wise for the missionary to follow through with it.

I know I am treading on controversial ground when I paint the savage, as I know him, in sombre colours that reflect our Western viewpoint. I realize that while the savage steals and lies and is inordinately selfish, he may be no worse than civilized people. Tozzer[6] goes a long way toward elevating the savage to a much higher plane than we are wont to regard him:

It is certainly true that our standard of much which is modest and decent would not pass in primitive society. It can therefore truthfully be said that, taken in the large, the savage is a clean-minded individual, in spite of transgressions against our code of right and wrong. . . . We may find among peoples of the lowest cultures a family life not at all unlike that of an ideal American household.

[6] Tozzer, A. M., *Social Origins and Social Continuities* (N. Y., 1932), p. 130.

But I cannot agree with Tozzer when he says earlier on the same page:

> A great deal has been written regarding the prominence of sex in the lower orders of mankind. Some would have us believe that the savage thinks of little else, and that the greater part of his time and of his ingenuity is turned towards sexual affairs. The lowest savages can plead "not guilty" to this charge. In the higher stages of primitive society there is often gross sexuality, but the perversions of sexual life are almost entirely absent in the lower types of savagery.

We regard our tribespeople in French Indo-China on a low level of human society, and from our experience we can say that, notwithstanding their different cultural and social viewpoint, sex perversion is rampant, and the savage is far from being the clean-minded individual some would like to think he is.

Our people do not regard adultery in the sense of a moral sin. It is a theft, on a level with the theft of a pig or a buffalo, and punished accordingly. If the people got away with it, no harm was done; it is only if they are caught that litigation commences, and a fine must be paid.

In adultery, the woman is blamed for having stolen someone else's husband (sometimes using so-called love philtres to attract his attention) about as often as a man would be blamed for having stolen someone else's wife. This is more serious than fornication, for unmarried women are given every opportunity to find their mate (the matriarchal system prevails among the Malayo-Polynesian tribes in French Indo-China) by a system of trial marriage, and there is no penalty. There is practically no such a thing as a virgin, and unmarried women are looked upon almost as public property.

De Quatrefages continues:[7]

> Among the most savage peoples, when we have been able to gain definite information as to their manners, we find that theft is regarded as something wrong, and punished. . . . But theft is only a crime under certain circumstances. To rob an enemy is a praiseworthy act of cunning.
>
> In conclusion,[8] if it is sad to be forced to recognize *moral evil* in races and in nations which have carried social civilization to the highest degree of perfection, it is consoling to acknowledge the *good* in most backward tribes, and to find it there in its most elevated and refined form. The fundamental identity of human nature is nowhere displayed in a more striking manner. . . . Does this lead to the inference that all human groups are upon the same moral level? By no means.

It is quite certain that our savages have become decidedly worse by their contact with civilization. When we paint black pictures of their moral condition, their lying and stealing, we must remember that they may not always have been so bad. Back in 1880 a French officer who was sent on a scientific mission among the Pnongs wrote that these people were "profoundly honest, laborious, little superstitious," and that the distinctive traits of character were: "his love for his family, his profound respect of the rights of other men, his indomitable love of independence."[9]

It was these very Pnongs who interested us first in the tribespeople of Indo-China, and near whom we lived for some years. They were known to be very dangerous, hostile and cruel, and the streets of our little town of Kratie were named, some of them, after officers who had been massacred by them as they penetrated their country with roads. The French regard

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[7] De Quatrefages, op. cit., p. 467.
[8] Ibid, p. 471.
[9] Gautier, Lt. A., *Rapport sur une Excursion Scientifique* (1880).

them to this day as most untrustworthy. Within their own social organization they may have higher standards of ethics and morals than when they come in contact with the white man, but the French do not think so. It is hard for them to believe the Pnongs have feelings akin to civilized men when they see their officers hacked and stabbed with such ferocity and cruelty.

Where there is no sense of sin, that is, no sense of responsibility to any deity for having broken the law, there cannot be any sense of repentance. Remorse is evident, when they are caught in wrong-doing, but it is simply self-pity and there is no desire to change one's ways. Repentance simply has no place in their method of thinking founded on their religious beliefs and social structure.

[10]One of the greatest difficulties, we were to find, is to get the people to confess they are in the wrong. When accused of doing something wrong instead of owning up to it, they immediately look around to revenge themselves on the one who told on them.

The savage is so inherently proud that it never enters his mind that he should admit a fault. I do not believe the thought of confession and repentance is part of their make-up. They have no words to represent these actions.

It is comparatively simple to persuade a savage that it is to his advantage to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. He naturally thinks it would be very well to be free from the bothersome evil spirits, and, if he has grasped the real meaning of the sacrifice on Calvary, he looks forward to a blissful life in heaven. It is

[10] Smith, G. H., Ibid, p. 60.

infinitely more difficult to get a savage to realize his real need of a Saviour from sin. I have yet to see a savage show signs of feeling sorry for his sins. The Holy Spirit no doubt convicts them in their hearts, but they do not demonstrate this working by any outward expression.

How can they feel conviction for something they do not know is wrong? We may tell them certain actions are wrong, but it takes a long time for the truth to sink in. It is not until they are well along the road and have studied the Bible for some time that they begin to show signs of contrition and confession. When we see a man weeping over his sins, we know there has been a real work of grace in his heart, but this does not come until long after he expresses his belief in the Saviour. The missionary among savages needs to rely much upon the convicting power of the Holy Spirit to instill a sense of having sinned against a Holy God.

Among our Bible students our greatest difficulty was to get them to admit faults, even petty faults. We have come to the conclusion that the most difficult part of missionary work among savages is not the initial belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, but to teach that they walk humbly in daily communion with the Lord, confessing their faults one to another, and living victorious lives. We have shed many a tear pleading with them to admit a wrong, and to ask the forgiveness of the person wronged.

Losing face must be avoided at all costs by the savage. Notwithstanding all these handicaps we have seen the Lord change many a savage into a saint, capable of understanding the deepest spiritual truth.

II. MENTALITY OF SAVAGES

It is very necessary to try to get at the back of the savage mind. I say try, because it is not easy to do it. Many times I have been told by Radays and others that they are very deep, and that it would be difficult for me to find out what they were thinking.

I used to think savages were very simple, child-like people, not given to much scheming, like the Annamese are, for instance. They cannot begin to compete, of course, with the Annamese commercially. They always come out at the worst end of a deal. But in his own primitive world, the savage must think hard. I found out that scheming, especially for the individual's own account, plays a great part in his life.

They are continually cooking up something that will benefit them, working out some plan to further their own ends, regardless of the detriment it might cause to others.

Feuds and quarrels are remembered for more than one generation, and revenge will be planned against an enemy to take effect on some auspicious occasion. There is no hurry about it. Enemy and antagonist may be outwardly at peace for many years, but wrong is never forgotten. The avenger will strike without fail, and his cunning and patience will usually be rewarded. They are not frank, as one would suppose. I believe the mind of the savage is deep. He may not give much effort to intellectual or abstract thinking, but as an individualist, looking out for himself, he seems to be always planning something for himself. Perhaps he is no worse than we are!

Our students could think up more excuses than any office boy who must attend his grandmother's funeral

FUNERAL OF A MNONG CHIEF

Food, drink, utensils, being placed on coffin in grave.

Smashing gongs and kettles before interring in grave.

The coffin placed inside the outer coffin.

"Essence" of deceased; the liquid from putrefaction to be interred in kettle in grave.

Smashing gongs and kettles.

Women wailing at the grave, a sort of dance.

Continued on next page

Jars of rice alcohol being placed in grave while first coffin is ready to be placed inside the second larger coffin.

One of the wives calls back the spirit of her husband, Khonjanup.

Typical Mnong grave ornamented with elephant tusks and peacocks.

Double coffin ready to be interred.

Sorcerer chants and pours blood and alcohol on end of coffin.

Offering platform ornamented by peacocks.

on baseball afternoon. It is exceedingly difficult to catch a primitive man; he always has a plausible reason for his actions.

[11]The savage is inordinately selfish. He thinks only of himself and his own well-being. I was warning a man who had a contagious disease to be careful and not transmit it to others. "That would be fine," he said, "if the disease would leave me and go into someone else." So low and debased have their natures become that they act like animals, snatching at their share of things at all costs, regardless of the needs of others.

Élie Réclus calls primitive people children, with the intelligence of children.[12] But he states:

Nascent peoples also have sudden illuminations, inspirations of genius, heroic conceptions, inventive faculties, long lost by nations in the flower of their age.

And what of those in their decline? What of Byzantine civilizations? See this palsied head, these tottering steps, these crutches; rule, tradition, convention, they have no desire beyond these.

Lubbock:[13]

The savage is like a child who sees and hears only that which is brought directly before him, but the civilized man questions nature, and by the various processes of chemistry, by electricity, and magnetism, by a thousand ingenious contrivances, he forces nature to throw light upon herself, discovers hidden uses and unsuspected beauties, almost as if he were endowed with some entirely new organ of sense.

This attitude of regarding the savage as a child is questioned by many authorities today. It is all in the point of view, they continually remind us. To them, we are child-like too. We are helpless babes when it comes to the science of the jungle. We astonish them with our ignorance of the elemental things of life.

[11] Smith, G. H., Ibid, p. 60.
[12] Réclus, Élie, *Primitive Folk*, p. 12.
[13] Lubbock, Sir John, *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 612.

The subject of savage mentality has been well covered by many writers. Dr. Boas has made an excellent study and I quote a few words from his book:[14]

> In primitive life, religion and science; music, poetry and dance; myth and history; fashion and ethics—appear inextricably inter-woven. . . . Every taboo is an example of such association of apparently trifling actions with ideas that are so sacred that a deviation from the customary mode of performance creates the strongest emotions of abhorrence. The interpretation of ornaments as charms, the symbolism of decorative art, are other examples of association of aspects of behaviour that, on the whole, are foreign to our mode of thought.

Lubbock is right when he describes the savage as a slave to fear. What he says should dispel once and for all the illusion that because the savage is more or less independent and free to live as he pleases, therefore he is happy:[15]

> It is not too much to say that the horrible dread of unknown evil hangs like a thick cloud over savage life, and embitters every pleasure.

Again in another chapter, Sir John Lubbock describes the savage:[16]

> There are, indeed, many who doubt whether happiness is increased by civilization, and who talk of the free and noble savage. But the true savage is neither free nor noble; he is a slave to his own wants, his own passions; imperfectly protected from the weather, he suffers from the cold by night and the heat of the sun by day; ignorant of agriculture, living by the chase, and improvident in success, hunger always stares him in the face, and often drives him to the dreadful alternative of cannibalism or death.

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[14] Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 226.
[15] Lubbock, Sir John, *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 596.
[16] Lubbock, *Ibid*, p. 609.

He is always suspicious, always in danger, always on the watch. He can depend on no one, and no one can depend upon him. He expects nothing from his neighbor, and does unto others as he believes that they would do unto him. Thus his life is one prolonged scene of selfishness and fear.

Even in his religion, if he has any, he creates for himself a new source of terror, and peoples the world with invisible enemies.

The position of the female savage is even more wretched than that of her master. She not only shares his sufferings, but has to bear his ill-humor and ill-usage. She may truly be said to be little better than his dog, little dearer than his horse.

My trips among the Pnongs of Cambodia early taught me the truth of the above statements. During the cool season of January and February when the thermometer drops to 60 degrees above zero F., the Pnongs got little sleep. They had so few covers, if any at all, that only the children were kept warm. All night long the shivering men and women would crouch half-naked around their fires under the houses.

It is hard to understand such improvidence. With a little effort they could supply themselves with home-spun blankets, but it was enough for them to scratch away at their ricefields for a few hours each morning, without going to so much trouble to keep warm at night. I often wondered when they slept. At noon when I would try to take a siesta, they were invariably chatting and smoking. It appeared to be mostly while I was preaching that the people fell asleep!

In conclusion, I would cite Réclus again about the need of a thorough knowledge of the savage before judging him too harshly:[17]

We are too apt to look down scornfully from the heights of modern civilization upon the mental processes of former

[17] Réclus, Élie, *Primitive Folk*, p. 8.

times, upon the ways of feeling, acting, and thinking which characterize human aggregations anterior to our own.

How often we scoff without knowing anything about them!

We have fancied the ethnology of inferior races was nothing but a medley of nonsense, and, in fact, prejudices appear doubly absurd when we do not possess the key to them. . . .

Already in the last century it was distinctly stated by DeBrosses, "The civilized are always repelled at first by the uncivilized. Prejudice is very unfavorable to savages. . . . As the investigator learns the languages of nations, as he enters into their ideas and ways of feeling, he ceases to be a stranger amongst strangers. He sees the countenance of these half-naked men light up, and at length discovers that the less he knew of them the more savage the savages seemed; his repugnance was the outcome of his ignorance."

CHAPTER TEN

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

It is important that the missionary take time to study those aspects of culture which are known as social organization. This involves an inquiry into their institutions; the functions of their social groupings; the conduct of warfare and relations with other tribes; the division of labor in the community, and the regulations regarding marriage.

I. ASPECTS OF CULTURE

Volumes have been written on this subject, and apart from the practical suggestions in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology,* perhaps Lowie's book, *Primitive Society* would be most helpful.

It would be interesting to record the life history of an individual in the primitive society beginning with his birth and ending with his death and burial. Each ordeal or ceremony connected with the various crises in his life should be observed. His education, attainment of adult life at puberty, his marriage, his death and his funeral, should give a wonderful insight into the life of the people. Under each of these subjects could be given the various laws and customs relating to them.

It would be to our advantage to make such a record, for this accumulated knowledge will stand us in good stead in every branch of our endeavor.

If our only contact with the people is in a chapel service and perhaps on brief visits to their homes, we cannot expect to learn much of their ways. We must make a definite study of their manner of life.

It was some time before I realized how much the savage likes his rice fields. He would rather be there than in his great longhouse in the village. He loves the solitude and independence of the jungle clearing. There he can stroll and amuse himself and chant his mournful tunes, and rest or work as much as he pleases. His whole day is his. He tends his traps and whittles his hatchet handle; sleeps and eats.

His life and that of his family depends upon the success of his crops. It is a great struggle against a hostile nature. The incessant rains mean constant hoeing of the weeds. The cold night winds keep him shivering in his little shack, and prohibit even his making of a fire. While the torrential rains flay his frail edifice he cringes at the awful sounds around him—hootings and cracklings, furtive movements under the house—the spirits of the dead are about on nights like this.

These are the nights that the sambur deer and wild pigs choose to ravage his fields. There is no use pulling on the long *tak blak string, for its clacking will not be heard. One must cry out to frighten the wild animals, but instead of a cry likely to frighten the invaders, his throat contracts and there is only a cry of anguish and terror that comes forth.

I have heard these shouts and clackings in the dead of night, and they are enough to waken the dead, but no animal heeds when the storm is raging.

*Split bamboo that is pulled by a string, then let go to make a loud clack as it falls back into a forked pole. Used to frighten birds and animals.

With the dawn comes the realization that his year's supply of food and sustenance is practically gone. There will not be enough rice to make the alcohol so necessary for the sacrifices, and for the assurance of the good health of his family. He will not be able to call upon the spirits for their aid in his undertakings. It is a dreadful plight, and famine means digging roots in the forest—great tubers eight feet underground that have to be boiled first to remove the poisons and make them edible. Grass and leaves and bark will be cooked, and bows and arrows will have to supply much meat for hungry mouths.

Speaking of the need of administrators understanding the customs and manners of the savages, the French administrator L. Sabatier notes how easily the savages who may be rebellious and unsubdued use their blood-brother ties with the subdued tribesmen to cover up their murders and trick the officers continually.[1]

Translated, Sabatier says:

> If one has not sufficiently learned the ways of the country, the manners, the customs, the habits; if one has not known how to acquire, from things and from people, this knowledge which permits one to discern, to diagnose the abnormal according to the facts which may be insignificant in appearance, but which are the pulsations of the country; if one does not know how to read on the faces, see the constraint of an attitude, understand the hidden meaning of a word; if one knows not how to perceive by intuition this atmosphere of uneasiness which envelops a village which is politically sick, the gravest events will unfold around about you without it being possible to suspect them.

It will be seen how necessary it is for those dealing directly with savages to understand their social set-up,

[1] Sabatier, L., *Le Chanson de Damsan* (Hanôi, 1933).

and even the missionary needs to learn this. He may not have any police or other authority to keep the peace in his section. As I mentioned before about the savage being deep, he is full of cunning and duplicity also and can easily deceive the naïve missionary. So much depends upon the attitude of his relatives and blood brothers, whether or not the savage will show sympathy to our message.

The social organization of the savage is deeply affected by the authority of the sorcerer. While penetrating the territory of the Stiengs in Cochin China the French officer Morère was massacred in cold blood in 1932. He had gained their confidence, and had done many things to help them, when, without warning, he was set upon and hacked to pieces. It will be seen from the translation of the account given below that the savage resents the encroachments of the white man, and the missionary as well as the colonizer needs a thorough grasp of savage ways. Should we tempt God and try to accomplish His work among hostile savages without first doing our best to learn their ways?

[2]What was the cause of this murder? Without any doubt is was the desire of the people of four villages to safeguard their ferocious independence to which the activity of the Administrative Delegate seemed to them to be a menace, as the construction of the road continued through their region.

It is probable that the sorcerers, whose influence over these primitives is so tyrannical, had profited by a fortuitous event to exasperate the hostility of these villages and to declare that the moment had come at last to get rid of him who so stubbornly violated their autonomy.

It was a repetition of the murder of Gatille in 1931. Both of these were perfectly cognizant of the customs of the Moi (savage) country and knew with what prudence every step

[2] Pagès, *Rapport sur la Pénétration en pays Moi* (Saigon, 1935).

had to be surrounded; with what patience and vigilance one must effect the rapprochement; how little confidence one must have in the demonstrations of friendship of these half-civilized people whose sentiments, sincere today, will be the contrary tomorrow, changing with a disconcerting rapidity.

Morère, like Gatille, had brought to the execution of his task a real goodness and a great solicitude and could, like him, have had all confidence in his protégés.

With all their knowledge of native ways, these officers paid the price of civilizing penetration with their lives. The missionary does not go to build roads nor to collect taxes, but he enters deeply into the savage's spiritual domain when he prohibits blood sacrifices offered to the evil spirits. The sorcerers will not take kindly to the Christian message. Our students have told us that if it were not for the French authorities we would have been killed by poisoning on many occasions. We thank God for protecting us, and for the fact that the stable government of the French administration has opened the way for us, and hindered the evil designs of the sorcerers.

II. TRIBAL MARKS

Many tribes have special tribal marks. It would be well to note these and distinguish them from mere decorative marks or ornaments. If they have any social significance, we should find out the reason for them.

III. RELATIONSHIPS

It was always confusing to have people pointed out to us as being brothers or sisters, when in reality they may have been second cousins, or even uncles or aunts. Primitive people name their relatives differently than we do, and it is well to study this on the field.

[3]Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, and yet no subject is more often entirely omitted or very incompletely treated by field-workers. . . . The method which makes the investigation of this system, not only possible, but even easy, is the genealogical method. When a number of pedigrees have been recorded, the terms of relationship would be obtained by asking what the different members of the pedigree call one another . . . care being taken to speak of these persons by their personal names, not by the names of their relationship to him.

We should endeavor to discover what may be the duties and privileges of relatives, and if there are any functions connected with ties of relationships. It is important also to know whether there are any restrictions or customs of avoidance in connection with relatives. Artificial relationships such as adoption and blood-brotherhood are interesting subjects to trace.

Old Ama Hñeek (Father of Hñeek) wanted to make me his blood-brother. I felt rather elated that a proud Raday chief should think so much of me, and hoped that it might mean much for the furtherance of the gospel in his village.

He approached me with a white chicken under his arm the second day of our arrival in his longhouse, and with a broad toothless grin announced that he was conferring a great honor upon me. It was a difficult situation for I was not sure whether he was about to mix my blood with his or the chicken's. I did not want my wrist cut, nor my neck for that matter, and I did not want to offend him.

I had no bracelet to exchange with him, so I offered him a ten-cent piece in Indo-China currency, and told him to call it square, for it was not necessary to kill the

[3] *Notes and Queries,* p. 149-150.

chicken on my behalf. He pondered this unorthodox procedure for a moment and then agreed. I took his proffered bracelet as he mumbled some words over it, and gave him the dime.

"Its all ready now," he pointed to the tall glazed jar of rice alcohol. "It is hardly our custom to make one a blood-brother without sacrificing a chicken to seal the pact, but if you will drink with me I think all will be well."

I had been in the country only a short time, and had not been offered the jar under such circumstances before. I had always refused to drink when the alcohol was brought out as a sign of good-will to visitors. He would be very angry, I knew, if I did not drink with him. The French had warned me that it is always necessary to partake of their wine, otherwise it would be a grave insult.

Water was brought in long bamboo tubes from a nearby stream and poured into the jar of fermented rice mash, until it brimmed over. Ama Hñeek poked a long hollow reed down through the mash to the bottom and began to draw out a few mouthfuls, spitting out the bits of mash that came up through the tube.

"Its very sweet, Grandfather," he said, turning to me and offering the tube. All my protestations were in vain, for he insisted on my taking the tube. I did so, but made only a semblance of drinking.

"He's not drinking a drop," several exclaimed, pointing to the still brimming jar. "He is fooling us."

I had to think quickly. I remembered their many tabus and superstitions. If a crow should land on a house under construction, the building would be

abandoned at once, and a new one erected elsewhere. When a baby gets its first tooth, a chicken is sacrificed. When the longhouse roof or floor or veranda is repaired a sacrifice of a pig is first made to placate the spirits of the house. The turtle which enters the village brings death to tiny babes. Wind brings disease. And so forth. I remembered I had a tabu of my own too.

Tapping my stomach and pointing to the alcohol I said, "Mlei, mlei," meaning tabu, prohibited. Ama Hñeek seemed to grasp the importance of it, for he respected my tabu and took to the jar himself for copious swigs from the tube.

It was not for some years that I really understood the significance of this blood-brotherhood. It was explained to me at the time of my initiation that from then on Ama Hñeek was on my side, and would always help and protect me and show me hospitality. However, it later was shown to me that it is nothing more than a selfish, mercenary arrangement whereby one of the two parties usually benefits more than the other, for on visits to each other's villages, each has to feed and entertain the other to the best of his ability. In my case, as I lived in town and Ama Hñeek made more frequent visits to the place than I did to his village, he usually benefited more from the bargain than I did. He was always coming to me for shotgun shells, soap, empty bottles, a meal, clothing, etc. He has not yet become a Christian, to my knowledge, and our relationship did not further the man's salvation, I am sad to say.

The daily life of the savage should be observed and a record made of his daily routine. It would be helpful to take note of their salutations, their rules of hospi-

tality, their forms of address, their politeness and etiquette, and their standards of decency.

Names are interesting to the missionary, for in his translation work he will want to know whether the system of proper names in the Bible will be understood by his people. We often wondered at the reluctance of the tribespeople to tell us their names. A new student would show up and when asked his name and village, he invariably looked embarrassed and turned to someone to answer for him. We did not know why this was until we had studied the question, and found this curious custom is prevalent among many primitive peoples all over the world. Some tribes think that no good will come to them if their names are uttered. It is bad manners to ask them for their names. It is tabu in many tribes to mention the names of the dead. The Raday prefix the word ayang to the name of a dead person, to signify that he has passed into the spirit (yang) world.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

METHOD

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of making good photographs or sketches to illustrate anthropological data.

One need not be a specialist in photography, but the usual run of missionary pictures shows a sad lack of elementary training. With a good camera and plenty of film there is no reason why pictures cannot be properly taken. I have noticed that many of those using the miniature type cameras with 35 mm. film do not seem to know how to use them. I would suggest using a reflex camera such as the Rolleiflex or Voigtlander where the image is represented on ground glass the size the print will be.

I found it worthwhile to take half a dozen different exposures of some outstanding native type in order to be sure of one good one. It is poor economy to spare the film.

In photographing a ceremony, it is not sufficient to make one or two pictures only. Distant overall scenes, as well as close-ups of details, are necessary.

I once photographed a burial ceremony of a big Mnong chief. It was a rainy, muddy day, but the pictures turned out well. Snapping the various aspects in rapid succession, thirty-five or forty photos were taken. The series is invaluable as a documentary record. Instead of relying upon words to describe the affair, the

photographs show everything in detail. The sorcerer pours the blood and alcohol alternately upon the end of the coffin[1] and the action is caught on the film. His crouching attitude, his betel-filled mouth, the look in his eyes, tell the story far better, and the throng standing near reflect the savage mind.

It is valuable also to make sketches to bring out certain details not shown in photographs. Plans of houses and villages and ceremonial grounds, graves, etc., are excellent to supplement the illustrations. Some of the carvings and details of architecture can be sketched to complete the picture.

The rule therefore should be: full and immediate note-taking, while first impressions are fresh in mind, with pictorial scenes to illustrate.

The use of movies in modern research cannot be too greatly urged. It is usually a question of expense that deters missionaries from this branch of photography. If arrangements could be made for a supply of film to be sent from friends in the homeland, the missionary could send back much more footage, and since he would have more at his disposal than if he were paying for it himself, he would have better pictures as well.

A common complaint is that a missionary does not take enough pains to make a photographic record of his work. Since he is forced, by the nature of his work and its support, to think of his pictures as missionary propaganda, he should see to it that his photos are well made.

It is always best to wait for a natural occasion, instead of simply lining people up for the photographs. While they are at work, keep them busily at it with-

[1] See pages 112-113.

out having them stop to look at you. Pictures showing how tools and implements are made and held, how cooking is done, how sacrifices are made, are far better than written accounts.

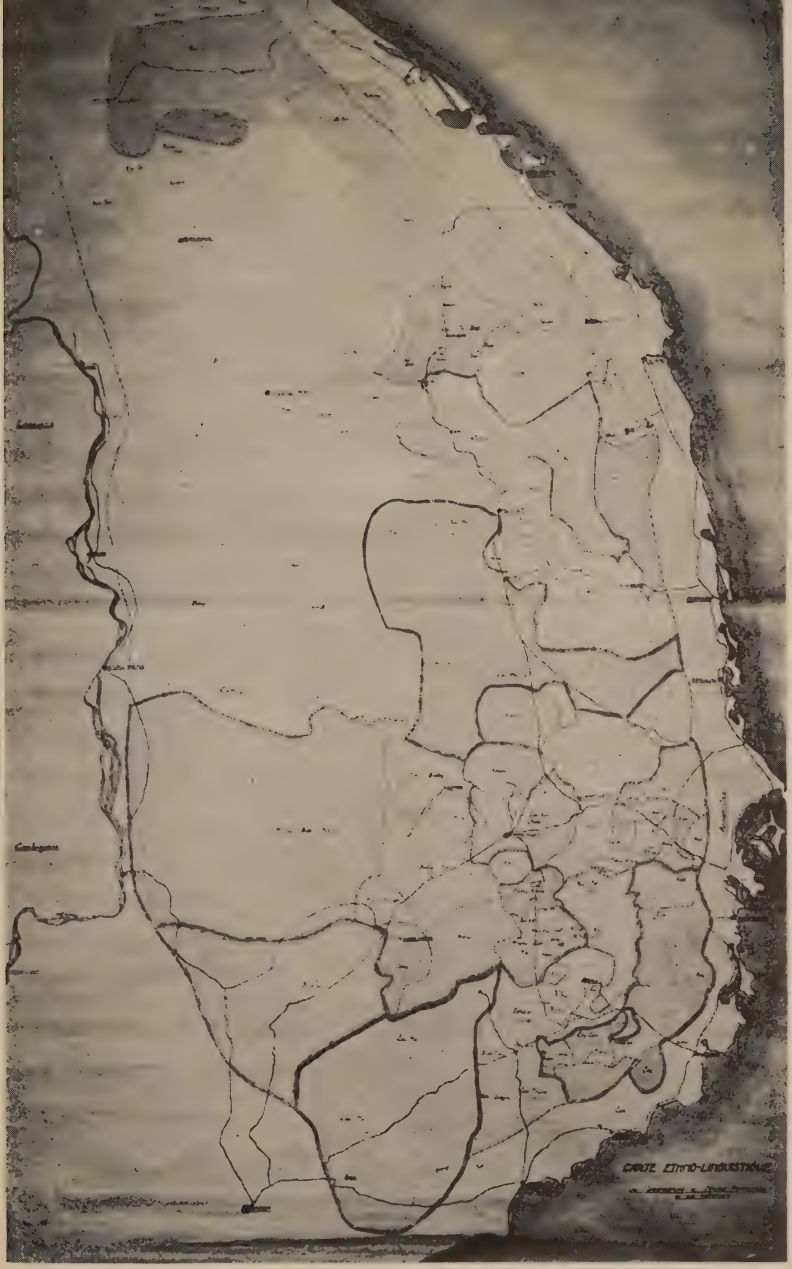
Much more could be said upon this subject, but there are text-books which cover the work of the photographer in the tropics and elsewhere.

I. SURVEYS AND MAPS

There are few sections of the world today not covered by detailed maps. Only the remotest parts remain for the geodetic surveyor. The pioneer missionary to such countries will find it necessary to prepare his own maps and surveys, hence a knowledge of map making and map reading would be very helpful. I would add here that a study of meteorology would be found extremely useful as well.

What interests the pioneer missionary more, perhaps, than physical maps of the country, is a survey of the ethnic groups and language families. He will usually have to make his own. Unless the work has been done thoroughly it will be found that many of the available statistics are more or less guesswork. This is especially true of unsubdued tribes, where it is not possible to penetrate. In order to properly estimate the needs of a new district it will be found necessary to compile an ethno-linguistic map showing the various tribes and sub-tribes, their affiliation, and their dialects. Using as a base a large-scale map of the country, say 1/100,000, if available, the territorial outlines of each tribe and dialect can be placed upon it as investigation progresses.

In French Indo-China this task was facilitated by the excellent large-scale maps which showed every



Ethno-linguistic map showing most of the savage tribes in French Indo-China. About three-quarters of the territory has been surveyed for missionary work.

The Annamese raise water to higher levels by means of a bamboo basket on ropes. Note thatch shades over men.

Sedang mountaineers at home, in Annam Mountains, French Indo-China.

village, trail and rivulet. By asking countless questions one was able to draw a line around the villages comprising certain tribes and dialects. Officials and administrators are usually willing to co-operate in this and show whatever information and statistics they may have compiled themselves for their own particular territory.

The difficulty of classifying tribes and languages has already been mentioned. Especially is it hard to know with what tribe a certain dialect may be connected. Some of these métis or half-breed dialects spring from two main tribes having customs and expressions common to both; therefore it is difficult to classify them.[2]

[3]The missionary as an explorer has added enormously to the known area of the globe. Livingstone alone added about one million square miles to the known land-surface. "Missionary roads" were built years ago all through the Dark Continent. Men of intrepid minds and dauntless courage have faced malaria, poisoned arrows, flooded streams, deadly sunlight, or the tsetse fly, to open up regions where no white man without the Christian motive would ever go. Sir H. H. Johnston speaks of "results which can only be described as momentous. . . . Almost as if by magic, a few years after landing, the missionaries appear as the advisers and ministers of powerful native chiefs."

The missionaries who come later may settle down, if they choose, into stable bodies and intensive work. The first to enter a new land are necessarily path-breakers. They must find the people to whom they are sent. They must ford streams, climb to the sources of rivers, penetrate swamp and jungle, and locate the headquarters of the work. To do that wisely they must scientifically observe the products of the soil, the climate, the rainfall, the population. Many a mission has been forced to migrate because the pioneers failed to bring science as well as devotion and heroism to their task.

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[2] Smith, *The Blood Hunters*, p. 128.
[3] Faunce, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

On the subject of maps, we are reminded by J. S. Dennis,[4] of the contributions of early missionaries:

Some of the great map makers of the world have been the apostles of the faith, driven to map making by sheer necessity. The English missionary, Grenfell, published his map of the Congo River in ten sections, the work being carried through the press by the Royal Geographical Society. The four great African rivers—the Congo, the Nile, the Niger, and the Zambezi, with all their vast and populous valleys—were made known to the world largely through the ceaseless urge of the missionary motive.

[5]It was not the making of maps, but the finding of men, which formed the goal of fifty years of daring African exploration. The islands of the South Pacific were many of them placed on the map by missionaries. From 1830, when John Williams in his home-made ship crossed 1800 miles of ocean between the Hervey and the Samoan Islands, down to the present day, the mission ships have flitted back and forth among the green islands of the Pacific. . . . Yet in 1823 John Williams was compelled by English sentiment to sell his ship on the ground that it was not a "spiritual" agency!

One more quotation among many that could be given will have to suffice here:

[6]Gulick's observations, geographical and meteorological, in Micronesia, have been the basis of navigators' charts ever since they were made. The volcanic eruptions of the Hawaiian Islands were chronicled for a half a century by American missionaries. The School of Tropical Medicine in London derived most of its early knowledge of tropical diseases and remedies from missionary correspondence. The flora and fauna of Alaska were described in the publications of Dr. Sheldon Jackson long before our government was ready to undertake such investigation.

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[4] Dennis, J. S., *Christian Missions and Social Progress,* (Vol. 3), p. 426.
[5] Faunce, *op. cit.,* p. 187.
[6] Keen, W. W., *The Service of Missions to Science and Society,* p. 10.

II. OBTAINING INFORMATION

Whether or not we are going to obtain accurate information depends upon a right approach to the people. In a booklet for new missionaries who expect to pioneer among Indo-China savages, we have tried to show the importance of the proper attitude.

The savage is usually distrustful. He must be won over by friendliness. Tact and sympathy are vital, as well as firmness. It is wise to avoid direct questioning, especially in the beginning. They will not understand our motive and will probably try to hide the true significance of their actions and beliefs for fear that we might do something to alter them.

As mentioned before, the savage is hesitant about revealing matters that may be sacred to him. If you ask a Raday or Jarai the meaning of his bracelets, he will usually reply that they are worn just for ornament. It would be well not to question him, but to ask someone else about the bracelets and why they are worn. You will then find out that they are pact-making bracelets, representing various things: a marriage pact, sealing the purchase of an elephant or a buffalo, or, when they have a number of nicks on them, to show how many buffalos have been sacrificed.

The savage is no teacher. You will have to dig out every bit of information you desire from him as best you can. Always avoid the negative questions, for many people respond to them in exactly the opposite way to ours.

I could not understand why the Annamese always replied "yes" to nearly every question, negative or positive. Their word really means, "I hear you," and does not convey the sense of affirmation.

"You haven't washed the dishes yet, have you?" we ask the house boy, as he piles up the dirty dishes after a meal. "Yes," he answers, and we wonder whether to call him a liar or to think our eyes are playing tricks on us. The "yes" means that what we have said, viz., "You haven't washed the dishes yet" is quite true, therefore he answers in the affirmative. If we asked him, "Have you washed the dishes yet?" he would reply, "I have not washed the dishes yet," or simply, "chua," not yet. If he had already washed them, he would reply "washed already."

Malvina Hoffman, the great sculptress of the "Hall of Man," Chicago Natural History Museum, had to have the right approach or she would never have been able to make such life-like reproductions. She says:[7]

> These people generally called savages, are far more intuitive and psychic than we are. It takes but a few seconds for them to discover if we are sincere or only bluffing. They sense this at once, and their actions are directed by this sensation. Words become quite unnecessary as a means of communication—a look of the eye, a smile, or a quick gesture can establish a relationship in which confidence and humor can flow easily from one individual to another.
>
> If a group of jungle folk or Indians gather about the white visitor, there is a tacit method of identifying the stranger at once. Is he to be taken within the circle of their confidence or not? If not, he might just as well fold up his tent and move along, for whatever he collects or observes will be falsified and his observations will be based on conscious misinformation.

Goldenweiser[8] has a chapter on "How Anthropologists Work," and he gives some good suggestions for the field worker. He quotes extensively here from *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* by B. Malinowski,

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[7] Hoffman, Malvina, *Heads and Tales* (Garden City Pub. Co., 1943), p. 13.
[8] Goldenweiser, A., *Anthropology* (New York, 1937), p. 47.

whom he regards as having great ability to absorb a vast array of facts, to interrelate them meaningfully, and to present the results in a cogent and readable form.

We should give special attention to tabus and interdictory signs. Among the Radays we soon learned not to touch or pound on the gongs and drums hanging in their longhouses. This is not permitted unless there is a sacrifice in progress. When we see a bamboo stuck in the ground with some grass stuck into the cleft at the end, we do not enter that village. It is kam, or tabu, for probably someone has died there, and the village is closed to outsiders for several days. If we were to disregard the sign, we might get into trouble, and probably receive an arrow in the chest. Once or twice when the road passed through such a village, we have removed the barriers of trees and branches from across the path and kept on going through, but we did not stop. The people did not show hostility, but it is not a good plan to follow frequently.

III. CONCLUSION

"How can I be an anthropologist?" There is of course only one answer: train yourself in the science and practice it on the field. One must be inquisitive and observant, and ready to record immediately the information obtained. One must have the pioneer's wanderlust, his love of exploration.

The missionary without a note-book cannot be a good anthropologist. He cannot expect to remember the thousands of details that come to his attention. The only safe way is to write them down fully and at once. Otherwise if it is left to memory, he will have only a vague and unsatisfactory account.

I found that important events and experiences were soon regarded as commonplace if I did not immediately make note of them, and then write them up fully as soon as I reached home. Material should be gathered and recorded while the first glow of interest is still upon us.

I think perhaps that I was born to be an explorer of some kind. At least I like to think so. I was fond of sneaking into the lake steamers tied up for the wintertime in Toronto, when I was young, and with some high school chums it was fun to explore the cellar of the cathedral when no one was around. I was arrested once (the only time in my life) for photographing some decrepit old submarines after the last war; just as I was entering the coning tower a heavy hand drew me out and I looked into the face of authority.

I love the rush of the big cities; being in the center of things, and knowing interesting people. I am afraid I must admit that I like lots of comfort and ease. But I do not think I am ever happier than when the trail bursts into the open on a jungle-clad mountain, and there spreads before me a panorama of valley and hill studded with the villages of a new tribe. What a thrill it is to mingle with strange peoples, to hear them chattering in strange dialects! It is a terrible burden, nevertheless, when one realizes that no messenger of the gospel has ever been there, and that unless someone is called of God to enter these regions, the people will go on to Christless graves.

Jerking and jolting and pitching along on the back of a lumbering old elephant is slow work. I shall never forget my first trip to the Jarais. Two days on

elephant back from the end of the road through jungle and marsh and lush, deer-filled meadows, and then the Jarai guide reluctantly led me into the dark, awesome tangle to where the ancient Cham ruin took me back a thousand years of time. Perched upon the small tower was a giant of the forest, its roots entwining around the structure and enveloping it so that it could not fall apart, nor the tree be removed, without the tower disintegrating. A few feet away was another giant and I made out the indistinct carving of the first white man to see this remnant of an early civilization: "Henri Maitre, 1906." Few have visited these ruins since that time, and it was not because I claimed to be one of the earliest that I carved my own initials on the other side. It is just a habit, I suppose.

The inestimable privilege granted missionaries of learning about foreign cultures and languages, and to discover and make records, may not always be appreciated by them. I trust I will ever be aware of the honor and the opportunity. I love to crawl into longhouses in new tribes and squat on the mat beside the fire while the people unfold their lives and beliefs before me. It is a fascinating thing to be the sole white person within scores of miles, surveying perhaps from some hilltop a territory which stretches out in all directions as far as the eye can see, and you the only civilized being there. Only the distant gongs of the savages, and sometimes the trumpeting of wild elephants, break the stillness. There are thrills galore for the missionary, thrown in, as it were, on the side. The heart-aches and difficulties are present in pioneer work, but there is usually the soul-stirring compensation of discovery, of feeling the tremendous challenge of new tribes, of knowing that the Lord has seen fit to choose

one to initiate a work that some day will cause those hills to echo with the songs of salvation.

There are still trails to be blazed across the dark lands of earth; there are still the thrills of being the first to reach new tribes. These await the messengers of the Cross. May they be thoroughly equipped for the task, spiritually, physically and mentally. May they not only have the fiery zeal of the evangelist, but also a thorough knowledge of primitive ways and thus, with God's blessing, be the means of establishing the Church of Christ where He is still unknown.

This is a work for enthusiasts, not drudges. It is not the place for the grumbler or the one who finds the jungle trail too tiresome. Happy also is the man whose help-meet shares the joys and sorrows of pioneer work with the same buoyant enthusiasm as his.

Glossary

GLOSSARY

ABORIGINAL—First; original; indigenous; primitive; native; as, the aboriginal tribes of America.‡

ABORIGINE—One of the earliest known inhabitants of a country; one of the native race, especially as contrasted with an invading or colonizing race.‡

ANIMATISM—The attribution of life and personality to things, but not of a separate or apparitional soul.†

ANIMISM—The belief in spirits, souls or deities as embodied in objects, and the system of religious acts based upon animistic belief.* The belief in spiritual beings (Tylor). This includes soul, ghost, and spirit.†

ANTHROPOMETRY—The science of measuring the human body and its parts and functional capacities.‡

ANTHROPOMORPHIC—Should be limited to outward shape, not used to describe the attribution of human behavior or thought. Similarly the terms Zoomorphic, Phytomorphic, Hylomorphic, mean that something is conceived or represented as having the outward shape of an animal, a plant, or an inaminate object.†

ANTHROPOMORPHISM—The attributing of human personal attributes to any object; particularly that form of religion which attributes or ascribes a human form and character to deity.*

ARTIFACT—A product of human workmanship, especially one of the simpler products of primitive art as distinguished from a natural object.‡

AUGURY—Art or practice of foretelling events by auspices or omens; divination.†

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‡ *Webster's New International Dictionary.*
† *Notes and Queries on Anthropology.*
* *A Student's Dictionary of Sociological Terms,* by Constantine Panunzio, Univ. of Calif.

AUTHORITY—In the family or kindred should be described as Patripotestal or Matripotestal; in the latter case, it should be noted whether the authority is in the hands (1) of the actual mother; (2) of the maternal uncles; (3) of the mother's relatives in general, and so on.†

AUTOCHTON—One supposed to have risen or sprung from the ground or from the soil he inhabits; one of the original or aborigines; a native.‡

AVUNCULATE—The special relationship obtaining among many tribal peoples between a nephew and his maternal uncle; the authority of a man over his sister's children and the reciprocal rights and prerogatives associated therewith.‡

CASTE—A culturally transmissible subdivision of a society whose membership is determined upon the basis of birth or occupation, and enforced by the ethical and religious mores of the group.*

CEREMONY—The outward, standardized acts usually performed collectively in solemn functions expressive of belief in the sanctity or sacredness of the object toward which the ceremony is directed, e.g., baptismal, marriage, naturalization ceremonies.* (See Rite.)

CICISBEI—Supplementary unions by which a woman has one or more supplementary partners or cicisbei are described as cicisbeism.†

CIVILIZATION—The "city-zation" of culture, that stage or aspect of social and societal development in which culture becomes highly organized, artificialized, removed from contact with original elements of nature, especially found in great centers of population, e.g., the Egyptian, Greek, or Roman Civilizations.* (Cf. Culture.)

CLAN—An exogamous division of a tribe, actually or believed to be descended from a common ancestor,

tracing descent in one line only, having a common name, usually possessing a common totem and often a common territory, and constituting the chief political, religious, and social unit of a tribal society. It differs from the family in tracing descent through the male or the female line only, to the complete exclusion of the other, such kinship bond being permanent and inalienable. The clan has its own council.‡

In some cases the most obvious tie is the common habitation of a village or district, but in such a case there is little doubt that the real tie has been of some other kind. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical; it may be the common possession of a totem; or it may be of some other kind.†

CONCUBINE—When a man has one or more supplementary partners, they are his concubines, and their status is concubinage.† (Cf. Cicisbei.)

COUVADE, LA—A custom, among primitive peoples in many parts of the world, in accordance with which when a child is born the father takes to his bed as if he himself had suffered the pain of childbirth, cares for the child, or submits himself to fasting and purification.‡

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE—Marriage between children of a brother and sister, i.e., one in which a man marries the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister.†

CULTURE—Consists of the totality of sociated man's creations, of all the systems of concepts, usages, associations and forms of material objects by means of which mankind systematically puts to use natural and human resources in the satisfaction of basic needs.*

Custom—A mass of detailed, overt behavior, long established and followed generally, automatically, and imitatively, without thought or purpose; it is to sociated man what habit is to the individual.*

Daemon—A deity regarded as a supernatural power rather than a person; hence, some being never definitely personified, but recognized as exerting power, especially over the lives and fortunes of men; a tutelary deity or spirit. For a *daemon* and a *demon* are not one and the same thing, and it is *daemon,* in its Platonic sense of being intermediary between gods and men—not *demon,* with its Judaeo-Christian import of an unclean, evil or malignant spirit.‡

Degeneration—The process by which a social institution or a whole civilization ceases to function and progressively deteriorates, disorganizes, and crumbles.*

Deificatory sacrifice—A religious sacrifice the object of which is to secure protection by creating a deity, as by placing of a victim beneath the post of a new house.‡

Demon—An evil spirit; a devil.‡

Dialect—See page 64.

Disparate—When the husbands are brothers the polyandry is called adelphic; when one or more of the husbands has a position superior to the other it is disparate.† (Cf. Polygyny.)

Divination—The act or practice of foreseeing or foretelling future events or discovering hidden knowledge, often accompanied by rites in which the unseen powers are assumed to co-operate. Divination may take the form of a magic art, as in the study of omens,

as in the inspection of the flight of birds or the entrails of sacrificed animals.‡ (See Augury.)

ENDOGAMY—The rule requiring marriages to be contracted inside certain specified classes, groups, or areas.*

ETHNOGENY—The origin or genesis of races.‡

ETHNO-GEOGRAPHY—The study of the geographical distribution of races and their relations to the environments in which they live.‡

ETHNOLOGY—See chapter 2.

ETHOGRAPHY—Description of morals and customs.‡

EXOGAMY—The societal rule that marriages must be contracted outside of certain familial, racial, cultural, local or political groups. Contr. Endogamy.*

FAMILY—This term should be limited to the group consisting of parents and children, including all children (adopted or other) who are treated by law and custom as conventional descendants of the person, whether father or mother, through whom descent is traced.†

FETICH, FETISH—A material object, whether natural, as the tooth or claw of an animal, or artificial as the carving in wood or bone, supposed to possess magical powers or to be endowed with energies or qualities capable of bringing to successful issue the designs of the owner, preserving him from injury, curing disease, etc. The fetish is regarded as the abode, sometimes temporary, of a supernatural spirit or power, and gains its potency from the indwelling of that spirit.‡

FETICHISM—Has been used in so many different and contradictory senses that it is very likely to be misun-

derstood. Its use should, therefore, be avoided. Even the word fetish should only be used in its historic sense, to describe a limited class of magical objects, in West Africa.†

Gens—A clan or family connection, embracing the families of the same stock in the male line.‡ (Pl. gentes.)

Some American authors use Gens only where there is patrilineal descent, Clan where there is matrilineal descent. Sept, Gens, and Totem-kin have been used synonymously, but Clan is recommended. In some cases Clans are grouped in Phratries.†

Ghost—It is convenient to limit *soul* to the separable personality of the living man or other being; *ghost* to the same thing after death; *spirit* to a soul-like being which has never been associated with a human or animal body. Soul, ghost, and spirit are all essentially of the same type, representing a personality independent of a body, though usually possessing an apparitional form of its own (e.g., like a dream-image or a shadow). As the name for the spirit attached to a person or a rite, *familiar* is preferable to *demon*.†

Glossology—The science of language. The defining and explanation of terms.‡

Group-Marriage—Denotes a form of marriage in which all the men of a definite social group are the husbands of all the women of another social group. No such form of marriage is known to exist at present.†

Idiom—Expressions of which the meaning cannot be inferred from the usual significance of the individual words and a knowledge of the grammatical rules for arranging them. (See *The Loom of Language,* Frederick Bodmer, p. 13.)

The language peculiar to a people, (a tongue) or to a district, community, or class (a dialect).

INFANTICIDE—The killing of a newly or recently born child; the practice of killing infants. Infanticide was anciently largely lawful and common, and is still so among savage and semi-civilized races.‡

KIN AND KINSHIP—Should be limited to relationship, real or conventional (see Family), which can be demonstrated genealogically. For the relationship set up by membership of the clan, Clansmen and Clanship should be used.†

KINDRED—May be used for a group of persons descended, or regarded as descended, from the same grandfather or grandmother or more distant progenitor, where the descent can be demonstrated genealogically and is not mythical, as is often the case with the clan. Occasionally the clan and the kindred may coincide with each other.†

LARVA—"The larva of primitive peoples, which constituted the first step toward the belief in spirits and the survival of the soul, was but a corporeal phantom, though generally invisible, and in all cases composed of a 'fluidic' substance having the form of the human body and all the animal instincts of the living creature, but only a rudiment of intelligence." (See *Primitive Man,* Caesar DeVesme, p. 237.)

LEVIRATE—A custom or law of marriage among the ancient Hebrews, according to which the brother of a man who died leaving a widow but no children, or no small child, was obliged to marry the widow (Deut. 25:5-10).‡

MAGIC—The technique of ritual.

The art which claims or is believed to be able to compel a deity or a supernatural power to do or refrain from doing some act or to change temporarily

the order of natural events, or which claims, or is believed to produce, effects by the assistance of supernatural beings, as angels, demons, or departed spirits, or by a mastery of secret forces in nature. It is a part of most primitive religions.‡

MANA—(Polynesian). Extraphysical power immanent in and emanating from nature viewed as the embodiment of all elemental forces which, taken together, produce and maintain the order of the universe. Mana is manifested physically in various ways as by authority, prestige, prophetic vision, magical powers, etc.‡

MATRIARCHY—A state or stage in social evolution in which descent is traced in the female line, all children belonging to the mother's clan. Such a system sometimes is associated with inheritance of land, houses, and social prerogatives in the female line.‡

MATRILINY—Custom of reckoning kinship, descent, succession, and inheritance in the female line.†

MATRILOCAL—Marriage is matrilocal when the husband lives, temporarily or permanently, with the group of his wife.†

MATRIPOTESTAL—See Mother-Right, Authority.

MOIETY—One of two mutually exclusive divisions of a group.‡

MONOGAMY—The marriage of one man to one woman. Contr. polygamy, polyandry, polygyny.*

MONOGENISM—The theory which holds that the human race sprang from a single stock and in a single place, presumably on the plateaux of northeastern Asia, from which groups migrated in various directions, into different geographic settings where peculiar biological traits appeared, became fixed and eventually

transmissible, thus giving rise to the sub-races. Contr. Polygenism.*

Morals—Rules of conduct, which affect adjustment among human beings without recourse to coercive media of any kind. Morals ultimately rest not upon the mandates of the gods, as does religion, nor upon the collective will, as do the mores, nor upon coercion, as does the law; rather, morals rest upon the individual's awareness of his common humanity with his fellows and upon his "conscience" or voluntary choice to deal justly with his fellows.*

Mores—The important and rigid folkways, the social rules or doctrines governing sociated conduct in respect to those activities which have to do with the more basic needs or which involve the giving, maintaining, or taking of life.*

Mother-Right—May be used to describe a state of society characterized by the presence of two or all of the three conditions, Matrilineal Descent, Matrilocal Marriage, and Matripotestal Family. The old terms patriarchal and matriarchal should be avoided altogether, as they have become ambiguous through inexact use in the sense of either -local, or -lineal, or -potestal.†

Pagan—In modern usage, that is pagan which is not Christian, Jewish, or Mohammedan; the word refers especially to past customs, sentiments, beliefs, or their survivals, and frequently implies contrast with Christianity rather than opposed to it. It often suggests a more detached or disinterested point of view than Heathen. Heathen commonly suggests adherence to Polytheism or the practice of idolatry, especially among the rude or uncivilized peoples.‡

Heathen is a term applied to those lacking both civilization and a systematized religion. The pagan

may be uncivilized or civilized, but he has an ordered religion. We consider the African savage, a heathen; the worshipper of the Norse gods, a pagan. (See *Non-Christian Religions, A Comparative Study,* Ione Lowman, p. 8.)

PAREOEAN—One of the Mongoloid people, otherwise known as Indo-Chinese, or as the Southern Mongols. The Chinese of the Hwang Ho region are usually regarded as the best examples of this type. They have black hair, with scant face and body hair, yellowish-brown skin, broad face, short flat nose, short stature, and the Mongolian eyefold.‡

PATRIARCHY—A state or stage of social development characterized by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family in both domestic and religious functions. The legal dependence of wife or wives, and children, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line. Patriarchy is distinguished from *Andocracy,* or the physical and social supremacy of men in primitive society, patriarchy being held to involve, besides such supremacy, father-right or descent and inheritance in the male line.‡ (See Mother-Right.)

PATRILINEAL—Of or pertaining to the paternal, or male line or to tracing descent in the male line; as, patrilineal rights, ancestry.‡

Patrilineal or Matrilineal Descent should be used to express that membership of the family or other social group is reckoned through the father or the mother.†

PATRILOCAL—Marriage is Patrilocal if the wife lives, temporarily or permanently, with the husband's group.†

PHONETICS—The science of speech sounds considered as elements of language, especially the study of their formation by the speech organs and apprehension by the ear, their attributes as length, pitch, stress, sonority, their modification by neighboring sounds, and their relation to other aspects of language, as spelling, orthoepy, rhythm, also the practical application of this science to the understanding and speaking of language.‡

PHRATRY—A clan, group of related families. Any analogous social division among primitive peoples, especially an exogamous social group comprising several totemic clans and comprised in a tribe, as among the Australian blacks, and some American Indians. (Phratria—brotherhood.)

POLYANDRY—The form of marriage in which one woman has two, or more husbands at the same time. Contr. polygyny.*

When the husbands are brothers the polyandry is called adelphic. When one or more of the husbands has a position superior to the others it is disparate.†

POLYGAMY—The socially recognized marital system in which plurality of wives or husbands at the same time obtains. Contr. Monogamy.*

Polygamy is a generic term including polygyny and polyandry.†

POLYGENISM—The theory which holds that originally the human races arose from several stocks and in different places, and were originally marked by different characteristics. Polygenism stands in contrast with monogenism or the theory that the races of man originated from one basic human stock and in one place.*

POLYGYNY—That form of marriage in which one man has two or more wives at the same time.*

Polygyny is disparate when one or more of the wives has a position superior to the others.†

Prayer—Prayer should be used in the English sense, and not used to cover every sort of oral rite.†

Primitive—Of or pertaining to the beginning or origin; earliest in time; first; original; as primitive ages or religion; our primitive ancestors.‡

Primogeniture—State of being the first born of the children of the same parents; seniority by birth in a family having the same father and mother.‡

Race—A biological division of the genus homo possessing relatively permanently established physical traits, sufficiently marked to distinguish it from all other similar divisions and transmissible by heredity with relative regularity.*

Races—a well-marked human variety, cannot be exactly defined. Race means breed; stands for all that we are by heredity, not experience. (Ethnology is the study of races; ethnography, description of races—Marett.)

Religion—The outward form by which men indicate their belief in, fear and awe of, and love for supernatural beings who are thought to have power over human destiny and whose favor is thought to be won through obedience, honor, and worship; the system of worship, rites and rules of conduct by which the favor of the god is won.*

The belief in spiritual beings. (See *Primitive Culture,* Tylor, Vol. I, p. 424.)

The search of the soul for an adequate spiritual object to rest in, combined with the consciousness that there is such an object, and with the impulse to seek

after it, and when found, to surrender itself to it. (See *The Christian View of God and the World,* James Orr, p. 112.)

Rite—A customary practice of a magico-religious character. (The word ceremony has lost this special sense.) A rite may consist of a number of ritual acts.

There may be a negative ritual, consisting in refraining from doing things for magico-religious reasons, as well as a positive ritual.†

Sabaism—Worship of the celestial bodies.

Sacred—May be used of all persons or things set apart from the profane, by reason of the possession of supernatural power inherent or derived.†

Sacrifice—Includes any kind of magico-religious rite of which the essential feature is that something is consumed. It may embody various purposes, being intended, for instance, as a communion feast, or as an offering to propitiate a supernatural being, or as an expiation.† (See Deificatory Sacrifice.)

Semantics—The science of meanings, as contrasted with phonetics, the science of sound.‡

Sept—See Gens.

Shaman—A medicine man, a tribal worker of magic, a magic healer.‡

Shamanism—Primitive religion of the Ural-Altaic peoples of northern Asia and Europe, in which the unseen world of gods, demons and ancestral spirits is conceived to be responsive only to the Shamans, mediumistic magicians. Hence, any similar religion where the medicine man performs much the same function.‡

Sib—A blood relation, a brother or sister, considered irrespective of sex. A group, consisting of all persons

unilaterally descended from a real or supposed ancestor.‡

Sibling—One of two or more children of the same parents but not necessarily of the same birth.‡

Somatology—A comparative study of the structure, functions and development of the human body; practically restricted to statistical treatments of bodily measurements and to comparative descriptions of these traits which chiefly distinguish races and populations.‡

Sorcery—The use of power gained from the assistance or control of evil spirits, especially for divining; divination by black magic; necromancy, witchcraft.‡

Sororate—"Where there are several sisters in a family, they are all regarded as the wives of the man who marries the eldest of them." (*Primitive Society,* R. H. Lowie, p. 18. See Levirate.)

Soul—It is convenient to limit soul to the separable personality of the living man or other being. (See Ghost.)†

Spirit—A soul-like being which has never been associated with a human or animal body. As the name for the spirit attached to a person or a rite, familiar is preferable to demon.† (See Ghost.)

Superstition—A belief founded upon irrational feelings, especially of fear, and marked by credulity; also any rite or practice inspired by such belief. Credulity regarding the occult or supernatural, as belief in omens, charms, and signs; loosely, any unreasoning or unreasonable belief or impression. (*Desk Standard Dictionary.*)

Some have explained superstition as "degenerate religion"; others as "religious error"; others (Pfleid-

erer) as "a pathological condition of normal belief"; but all such definitions depend upon the viewpoint. As Roskoff remarks: "The man who is plunged in superstition is sure to hold it for the only true faith, and is contented with it so long as he is not troubled with doubts." (See *Religions of Primitive Peoples,* Brinton, p. 28.)

Taboo, Tabu—A sacred interdiction laid upon the use of certain things or words or the performance of certain actions. To debar from use, practice or intercourse by authority of social or class convention.‡

Tabu should be limited to describe a prohibition resting on a magico-religious sanction. Various other prohibitions are observed in uncivilized society; e.g., legal prohibitions, put forth by authority; and customary prohibitions, which appear to rest simply on social disapproval; but the term Tabu should be restricted as above.†

Teknonymy—The custom of certain savage races of naming the parent from the child.‡

Tongue—A spoken language. The speech used by a particular people or class or in a particular region. A dialect.

Totem—One of a class of living or, sometimes, inanimate objects regarded by any primitive people as having blood relationship to a specific family, group or sib; esp., any animal or plant species so regarded; sometimes an individual's animal guardian spirit.

A symbol or representation of the totemic being.‡

Totemism—Three chief features of the relation between human beings and their totem seem to be essential to totemism in its normal form:

1. The totem (generally a class of animals, plants or inanimate objects; occasionally an individual

animal or thing) is connected with a definite social group, and in the typical form of the institution this social division is exogamous. Often the group takes its name from the totem, or uses it as a badge, but these points are less constant and essential.

2. The members of the social group believe themselves to be related to the totem or "of one flesh" with it, and not infrequently they believe that they are descended from the totem.

3. There is a magico-religious bond between them; the members of the social group look for protection from their totem and show respect to it, and the most usual method of showing this respect is the prohibition to eat, kill, or injure the totem.

When a clan or corresponding social group owns more than one totem, these totems should be spoken of as associated totems. When one of these is more important than the rest, the latter should be called sub-totems. When the different parts of an animal are associated with different divisions of the social group, they should be called split totems.†

Tribe—A group of a simple kind, nomadic or settled in a more or less definite locality, speaking a common dialect, with a rude form of government, and capable of uniting for common action, as in warfare.†

A consanguineous, endogamous group, primitively comprising several exogamous sibs which it unites under one political head or chief, and often with a special tribal worship distinct from the specific sib cults. More loosely, any aggregation of people, especially in a primitive or nomadic state, believed to be of a common stock and acting under a more or less central authority, as that of a headman or chief.‡

Zoolatry—Deification of animals.

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